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THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
FROM THE
BUILDING OF ROME
TO THE
RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

BY
N. HOOKE, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION, IN ELEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1818.

ROMAN HISTORY.

EYNDEN POST OFFICE

I had displayed my intention in the best manner of these sheets is, I confess, the hardest of the entertainment the place affords. But when I can return, my sign, that Mr. Pope has been heard and was content, who will question the goodness of the house? I have no desire to hide it, my interested view in this epistle. Perhaps I should find it difficult on such an occasion as the present, to address you in any terms, which might not be construed into self-love, more or less refined. Will not this be the case, if I say, as with truth I can, that I was glad to seize the only opportunity I may ever have of so publicly testifying my just esteem for a worthy friend, to whom I have been

T. DAVISON, LOMBARD STREET, WHITEFRIARS, LONDON.

TO

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

SIR,

THE displaying your name at the head of these sheets is, I confess, like hanging out a splendid sign to catch the traveller's eye, and entice him to make trial of the entertainment the place affords.

But when I can write under my sign, that Mr. Pope has been here, and was content, who will question the goodness of the house?

You see, Sir, and I had no desire to hide it, my interested view in this epistle. Perhaps I should find it difficult, on such an occasion as the present, to address you in any terms, which might not be construed into self-love, more or less refined. Will not this be the case, if I say, as with truth I can, that I was glad to seize the only opportunity I may ever have of so publicly testifying my just esteem for a worthy friend, to whom I have been

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

long and much obliged? Yet allow me to add, that I imagine I do give a proof of that esteem, when I inscribe to you this attempt towards a History of Roman virtue and patriotism. No consideration, I hope, could engage me to it, if I were not persuaded that you really are, what your writings declare you to be, a friend to virtue, to your country, and to the liberties of mankind.

I am with sincerity and affection,

SIR,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

N. HOOKE.

* Mr. Howel, in his History of the World, has given a dry, but very exact account of the Roman kingdom and republic. "His collections (says Mr. Richard) are admirable, both for their usefulness and exactness; his decisions very just and faithful, and his learning very uncommon and curious: in short, we may say, that no man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal matters of all the Roman historians than he; and that he was an incomparable collector and compiler, though at the same time he was but an indifferent historian." Pref. to Ech. Rom. Hist.

THE

P R E F A C E.

THE compendious History of the regal and consular states of Rome, by Mr. Echard, and a translation of the extensive one, written in French, by the Jesuit-fathers, Catrou and Rouillé, were the only general accounts, which (unmixed* with foreign matters) had been given of them, in our language, when the present work was first offered to the public. In the structure of it, the author had an especial regard to those persons, who, wishing to be acquainted with the Roman story by reading it in English, found Mr. Echard too brief to satisfy their curiosity, and the Jesuits too diffuse and verbose to engage their attention agreeably. Not long after its coming abroad, the well known and much esteemed Monsieur Rollin, who, by the solicitation of his friends and admirers, had been prevailed with,

* Mr. Howel, in his History of the World, has given a dry, but very exact account of the Roman kingdom and republic. "His collections (says Mr. Echard) are admirable, both for their usefulness and exactness; his decisions very just and faithful, and his learning very uncommon and curious: in short, we may say, that no man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal matters of all the Roman historians than he; and that he was an incomparable collector and compiler, though at the same time he was but an indifferent historian." Pref. to Ech. Rom. Hist.

in his old age, to undertake a History of Rome from the building of the city to the battle of Actium, obliged the public with a part of what he had executed. Death prevented his prosecution of the work to its completion; but it has since been continued and finished by the ingenious and industrious Monsieur Crevier; and the whole is translated into English. Had M. Rollin, who not only has avoided, in his relations, the extremes above-mentioned, but has drawn his historical matter (for the most part) from the ancient Greek and Latin authors, been somewhat more early in his enterprise, it would have hindered the writer of the present history from attempting any thing of this kind; whose project, at first, was nothing more than to abridge the Jesuits voluminous compilation, making use, occasionally, of Mr. Vertot's sprightly narrative of the revolutions in the Roman government. That project, however, he did not closely and constantly follow, even in this first volume, and he wholly departed from it in composing the second, chusing then to have recourse to the ancients for his materials, and also venturing, with regard to certain things, by them related, to make remarks, and give conjectures of his own; which, he imagined, might at least occasion to his readers the pleasure of considering, if they proved of no service to assist them in judging. Nor was he diverted from proceeding in this method, by the pieces M. Rollin had then published, of his Roman history; for this excellent writer, though more exact in his trans-

lations, and in giving the sense of his authors when he is not a mere translator, than either Monsieur Vertot or the Jesuits, has not, so often as could be wished, made use of his judgment to distinguish the true from the false, the probable from the improbable; and he has sometimes chosen to transcribe Monsieur Vertot, where this abbé did certainly not deserve that honour. Whoever peruses Monsieur Vertot's work must, I think, observe, that, with him, notwithstanding his strong and lively representation of the avarice, ambition, and usurpations of the nobles, the tribunes are always wrong, either in the matter or the manner, or the timing of their proposals for relieving the plebeians, and commonly in all three. And Monsieur Rollin, though he be not quite so devoted to the aristocratical faction as the abbé, yet seems to have a stronger bias that way than perhaps in reason he ought to have. In pages 57, 58 of his second volume, speaking of the Agrarian law, he says, "The demand of the tribunes on this article does really appear so founded in equity, that it seems as if nothing reasonable could be objected to it; and one cannot easily look upon the senate's obstinate withstanding it, but as a crying injustice, and a partiality wholly condemnable. Nevertheless, a society so respectable, and abounding with persons of generally avowed prudence and virtue, must undoubtedly have had strong reasons for acting as they did. That possession [which the patricians had] of the lands belonging to the public,

Hist. Rom.

might be unjust in its origin, and it was then that a remedy might and ought to have been applied. But, as Monsieur L'Abbé de Vertot observes, a new partition was a thing attended with great difficulties." And then, to excuse the senate, he transcribes Monsieur Vertot's imaginary difficulties; of which the reader will find some notice taken in the second volume.

It is the more extraordinary that Monsieur Rollin should be so ready to ascribe the senate's opposing the Agrarian law to prudential motives, and a concern for the tranquillity of the public, when he had said but five pages before, in speaking of their opposition to the law for a partition of Mount Aventine among the people, "There was nothing unreasonable in this law: and the senate ought to have granted the hill with a good grace, and have even prevented the demand of the tribunes; but these obtained nothing from the fathers without violent struggle, the discord being so great, and become, as it were, natural between the two orders*."

* The reader will find in p. 548 of the second volume of this history (second edition) some observations on a passage in the twenty-eighth book of M. Rollin's Roman History, which, to my apprehension, are sufficient to shew, that he was unreasonably prepossessed against the popular cause.

That supereminently learned and judicious writer, Dr. Blackwell, seemingly under the like prepossession, has (in p. 132 of the first volume of his *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*) delivered it as his opinion, that the Roman constitution was unhinged, and its government converted

If from some passages, in the present edition of this volume, regarding the civil contests at Rome, the author should be thought too much biassed to the popular side, he hopes it will be remembered at the same time, that there is a sort of generosity in taking the part of the poor commons, who, in almost all their endeavours to free themselves from oppression, have been usually represented as an unreasonable, headstrong multitude, insolent, seditious, and rebellious. And he can truly say, that how partial soever to the plebeians he may seem, he is not conscious of having passed over any material fact, reported by the ancients to the disadvantage of the plebeian cause, or its advocates; notwithstanding his own incredulity with regard to several pretended facts of this kind. Thus, though he totally disbelieves the story of * Cassius's treasonable plot, with his trial and condemnation; as likewise that of the wicked conspiracy of the tribunes† against the senate and the knights; yet he has given the substance of both these tales as they are related by Dionysius.

* See Hist.
B. 2. c. 14.

† B. 2. c. 21.

from the best of forms to the worst, by those very measures (in favour of the commons) which, according to Dr. Middleton, brought the government of Rome to its perfect state: I mean the laying open to the plebeian families a promiscuous right to all the magistracies of the republic, and by that means a free admission into the senate, — the proposing equally and indifferently the honours of the government to every citizen, who by his virtue and services, either in war or in peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favour of his countrymen. See Dr. Middleton's preface to the Life of Cicero, p. xxxvii.

In the forty-two years, from the secession to the decemvirate, the main foundations were laid of that free republican government, afterwards brought to its perfection by the Licinian laws, and their natural effects. For which reason, and a well grounded apprehension, that several transactions of those times were not placed in their true light by Monsieur Vertot, whose representations of them had been copied in the first edition of this volume, that portion of the history was revised with some attention, and compared with the original writers; and this comparison occasioned, in the second edition, not only some variations from M. Vertot, but here and there a critical remark on the ancient historians themselves; and in the present edition the reader will find several remarks that are not in the former, and of which some, perhaps, will appear to him entirely new. They are not given as things certain, but as probable, as having the appearance of truth.

What is inserted in the margin of p. 283, by way of objection to Livy's account of the peace made with Porsenna, was borrowed from a treatise entitled, A Dissertation on the uncertainty of the history of the first five hundred years of Rome. It seems, for the reasons there given, highly probable, if not certain, that the king entirely subdued the Romans; and the truth of this opinion may perhaps receive some confirmation from another remark. Livy tells us, that it was a custom transmitted from the ancients, and re-

tained even in his time, for the crier, at public sales, to call the goods, Porsenna's goods. (According to Plutarch it was at sales of goods belonging to the public.) The Latine historian is at a loss for the true origin of this custom; because (as he intimates) it would seem, that the first goods, sold under this appellation, had been taken from Porsenna in a hostile manner; and this does not well suit with the king's friendly departure from before Rome. "Either this custom (says he) must have commenced during the war, and been continued after the peace; or it must have taken its rise from an origin of a gentler kind than the outcry imports." *Cujus originem moris, necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse, neque omissam in pace: aut mitiore crevisse principio, quam hic præ se ferat titulus, bona hostiliter vendendi.* He adds, "The most credible tradition concerning this matter is, that, when Porsenna marched away, he made a present to the Romans of his camp stored with provisions, of which, by reason of the long blockade of their city, they were in extreme want. And lest the people, pressed with hunger, should seize the provisions in a rapacious tumultuous way, these were sold and called Porsenna's goods; not to signify that it was a sale of booty acquired by the Romans from the king in war, (for they were not in a condition to make such depredations) but of the free gifts of his bounty."

Now if, as Tacitus informs us, the city surrendered to Porsenna, and if, as the treaty mentioned by Pliny imports, the Romans were

Tac. Hist.
L. 3. c. 72.
Plin. L. 34.
c. 14.

reduced so low as to submit to the being prohibited the use of iron, except for agriculture, we may easily believe, that the origin of the outcry, used in public sales, was an injunction laid upon the Romans by the king, to make an acknowledgment, on all such occasions, that whatever they possessed was his. And this is not inconsistent with the supposition of his freely supplying their necessities, when they, through the pressure of famine, had absolutely submitted to him. The continuation of this custom, whether it arose from gratitude, or from obedience to power, will in either case be difficult to account for, unless we suppose, that the words, "Porsenna's goods," came soon to signify no more than that the goods, exposed to sale, would be sold cheap; as probably those given by Porsenna were. Father Catrou (upon what authority I know not) gives this meaning to the expression.

It may be observed, by the way, that the enterprize of Mucius to stab Porsenna is a strong proof, if the fact be true, of the extremity to which the Romans were reduced. And the fact, that Mucius did undertake to assassinate the king, and this (as Livy and D. Hal. report) with the approbation of the senate, is made credible by that unusual ignominy with which he loaded his conquered * enemies, in

Livy, L. 2.
c. 12.
D. Hal. p.
298.

* That Porsenna chose rather to be himself king of the Romans, than to restore Tarquin to the throne, will not be thought wonderful. But when, and by what fortunate incidents the Romans got, so soon as they did, from under the domination of the Hetrurian, must be left to conjecture.

forbidding them the use of iron for arms; for it seems to have a reference to the dagger of Mucius, and the base attempt to which the great council of his nation had encouraged him.

Monsieur de Beaufort, a member of our Royal Society, and author of the dissertation above-mentioned, gives some very good reasons for questioning, in the story of Mucius, the truth of that circumstance, his broiling his right hand; and he has made several other ingenious observations on the history of the first ages of Rome; yet I must take leave to say, that he seems very far from having proved, That there is nothing more uncertain than the whole body of the Roman history of the first five hundred years, from the building of the city: *Qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que tout ce corps d'histoire—qu'on n'y peut compter sur rien.* And, because the matter of the following sheets is the substance of what the ancients have written concerning those times, I have, in a discourse, which is now prefixed to the second volume of this history, attempted a defence against the attack made on the credit of their accounts.

Dissertat.
&c. p. 12.
& 43.

N. B. When Dionysius of Halicarnassus is cited, the pages of the Frankfort edition are referred to, because, those pages being marked in the inner margin of Dr. Hudson's edition, such reference will be equally convenient with regard to both.

twenty-one kings in succession (fourteen at Alba, and seven at Rome.) For in no country, of which the historical and chronological accounts are certain, is it found, that the like number of kings in succession reigned near so long as six hundred and seventy-six years. And because most of the seven Roman kings were untimely slain, and one deposed, he thinks it not reasonable to believe that their reigns took up half the two hundred and forty-four years allotted to them by the Roman historians.

As the following remarks, offered in support of Sir Isaac Newton's conclusion, may happen to fall under the inspection of several persons, who have not perused that great man's chronological work, it may to such, perhaps, be agreeable, if the remarks be introduced by some of his fundamental reasons for questioning the truth of the received chronology of ancient kingdoms in general, and of the Roman kingdom in particular.

The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 43 & seq. Herod. l. 2.

‘ ALL nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raise their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted, by the contentions between nations about their originals.

† Ant. Ch. 714.

‘ Herodotus tells us, that the priests of Egypt reckoned from the reign of Menes * to that of Sethon, who put Senacherib † to flight, three hundred forty and one generations of men, and as many priests of Vulcan, and as many kings of Egypt; and that three hundred

* He is supposed to be Mizraim the son of Cham, and grandson of Noah, and to have founded a kingdom in Egypt, A. M. 1772.—Ant. Chr. 2232.

generations make ten thousand years; for, saith Herodotus, three generations of men make a hundred years: and the remaining forty and one generations thirteen hundred and forty years: and so the whole time from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon was eleven thousand three hundred and forty years. And by this way of reckoning, and allotting longer reigns to the gods of Egypt than to the kings which followed them, Herodotus tells us from the priests of Egypt, that from Pan to Amosis were fifteen thousand years, and from Hercules to Amosis seventeen thousand years.

‘ So also the Chaldæans boasted of their antiquity; for Callisthenes, the disciple of Aristotle, sent astronomical observations from Babylon to Greece, said to be of nineteen hundred and three years standing before the times of Alexander the Great. And the Chaldæans boasted further, that they had observed the stars four hundred and seventy-three thousand years; and there were others who made the kingdoms of Assyria, Media, and Damascus, much older than the truth.

‘ Some of the Greeks called the times before the reign of * Ogyges unknown, because they had no history of them; those between his flood and the beginning † of the Olympiads fabulous, because their history was much mixed with poetical fables; and those after the beginning of the Olympiads historical, because their history was free from such fables. The fabulous ages wanted a good chronology, and so also did the historical, for the first sixty or seventy Olympiads.

† Ant. Chr.
776.

* According to the old chronology, the flood of Ogyges happened seventeen hundred and ninety-six years before the Christian æra: but according to Sir I. N. little more than eleven hundred years. Short Chron. p. 10.

“ In the beginning of that [the Persian] monarchy, Acusilaus made Phoroneus as old as Ogyges and his flood, and that flood a thousand and twenty years older than the first Olympiad; which is above six hundred and eighty years older than the truth.” Chron. of the Greeks, p. 45.

Founded
by Cyrus,
Ant. Chr.
536.

‘ The Europeans had no chronology before the times of the Persian empire, and whatsoever chronology they now have of ancienter times, hath been framed since by reasoning and conjecture.—

Plut. de
Pithiæ Ora-
culo.

‘ Plutarch tells us, that the philosophers anciently delivered their opinions in verse, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Thales.—

Plut. in
Solon.
* Apud
Diog. Lært.
in Solon.
p. 10.

‘ Solon wrote in verse, and all the seven wise men were addicted to poetry, as * Anaximenes affirmed.

‘ Till those days the Greeks wrote only in verse, and while they did so, there could be no chronology, nor any other history than such as was mixed with poetical fancies.

Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. 7.
c. 56.
Ib. l. 5.
c. 29.

‘ Pliny, in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, that Pherecydes Scyrius taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of Cyrus; and Cadmus Milesius to write history. And in another place he saith, that Cadmus Milesius was the first that wrote in prose.

Cont. Ap.
sub initio.
In Ακισσι-
λαος.

‘ Josephus tells us, that Cadmus Milesius and Acusilaus were but a little before the expedition of the Persians against the Greeks: and Suidas calls Acusilaus a most ancient historian, and saith that he wrote genealogies out of tables of brass, which his father, as was reported, found in a corner of his house. Who hid them there may be doubted: for the Greeks had no public table or inscription older than the laws of Draco.

Joseph.
cont. Ap.
l. 1.

‘ Pherecydes Atheniensis, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, or soon after, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the Athenians in ten books; and was one of the first European writers of this kind, and one of the best; whence he had the name of Genealogus, and by Dionysius Halicarnassensis is said to be second to none of the genealogers.

Dionys. l.
1. initio.

‘ Epimenides (not the philosopher, but) an historian, wrote also of ancient genealogies: and

‘ Hellanicus (who was twelve years older than Herodotus) digested his history by the ages or successions of

the priestesses of Juno Argiva. Others digested theirs by those of the archons of Athens, or kings of the Lacedæmonians.

‘Hippias the Elean published a breviary of the Olympiads, supported by no certain arguments, as ¹ Plutarch tells us: he lived in the ² 105th Olympiad, and was derided by Plato for his ignorance. This breviary seems to have contained nothing more than a short account of the victors in every Olympiad.

¹ Plut in
Num.
² About
360. Ant.
Chr.

‘Then § Ephorus the disciple of Isocrates formed a chronological history of Greece, beginning with the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, and ending with the siege of Perinthus in the twentieth year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, that is eleven years before the fall of the Persian empire: but he digested things by generations, and the reckoning * by the Olympiads, or by any other æra, was not yet in use among the Greeks.

§ Diodor.
l. 16. p.
550.
Ant. Chr.
343.
Polyb. p.
379. B.

‘The Arundelian marbles were composed sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great [An. 4. Olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the Olympiads nor any other standing æra, but reckon backwards from the time then present.

Ant. Chr.
265.

‘But chronology was now reduced to a reckoning by years; and, in the next Olympiad,

‘Timæus Siculus improved it: for he wrote a history, in several books, down to his own times according to the Olympiads; comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the priestesses of Argos with the olympic victors, so as to make the Olympiads and the genealogies and successions of kings and priestesses, and the poetical histories suit one another, according to the best of his judgment; and,

* Sir Is. N. says the same in the introduction to his short Chronicle, and adds there these words, ‘Nor does it appear that the reigns of kings were yet set down by numbers of years.’

where he left off, Polybius began, and carried on the history.

223. 'Eratosthenes wrote above a hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great. He was followed by Apollodorus, and these two have been followed ever since by chronologers.

In vita Lycurgi sub initio. 'But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of those times, may be understood by these passages of Plutarch. "Some reckon Lycurgus," saith he, "contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in ordering the olympic festivals, amongst whom was Aristotle the philosopher; arguing * from the olympic disc, which had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others supputing the times by the kings of Lacedæmon, as Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, affirm that he was not a few years older than the first Olympiad." He began to flourish in the seventeenth or eighteenth Olympiad, and at length Aristotle made him as old as the first Olympiad; and so did Epaminondas, as he is cited by Ælian and Plutarch: and then Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and their followers, made him above a hundred years older.'

Confut. of Sir I. N.'s Chron. p. 1047.

[Mr. Whiston accuses Sir I. Newton, of not informing his readers how very difficult a thing it is to tell the age of Lycurgus; nor that Plutarch himself declares, "how every thing about Lycurgus is disputed; and, above all the rest, the time when he lived." I cannot see any good ground for this quarrel with Sir I. N.; but I wonder that Mr. Whiston or any body should

* N. B. In p. 58. Sir I. N. shews the fallacy of this argument. Iphitus, says he, did not restore all the olympic games. He restored indeed the racing in the first Olympiad, Corcebus being victor. In the 14th Olympiad, the double stadium was added, Hypænus being victor. And in the 18th Olympiad, the quinquertium and wrestling were added, Lampus and Erybatus, two Spartans, being victors; and the disc was one of the games of the quinquertium.

Pansan. l. 5. c. 8.

build much upon the authority of chronological canons, the framers of which were so destitute of authentic records as to be reduced to conjectures concerning the time when Lycurgus lived, than whose legislature there is not a more memorable event in the history of Greece. And it ought to be observed, that the uncertainty with regard to Lycurgus must be attended with a like uncertainty as to the times of the kings in the line of Procles; Lycurgus having been tutor to his nephew Charilaus the seventh king of that race. And it is remarkable that the chronologers have not pretended to know the number of years which each of those kings reigned, though they have marked the length of the several reigns of the kings in the line of Eurysthenes down to Polydorus the tenth king.]

In another place Plutarch tells us: ‘The congress of Solon with Croesus some think they can confute by chronology. But a history so illustrious, and verified by so many witnesses, and which is more, so agreeable to the manners of Solon, and worthy of the greatness of his mind and of his wisdom, I cannot persuade myself to reject because of some chronological canons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors correcting, have not yet been able to constitute any thing certain, in which they could agree amongst themselves, about repugnances.’ In Solone.

‘Diodorus, in the beginning of his history, tells us, that he did not define, by any certain space, the times preceding the Trojan war, because he had no certain foundation to rely upon: but from the Trojan war, according to the reckoning of Apollodorus, whom he followed, there were eighty years to the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus; and that from that period to the first Olympiad, there were three hundred and twenty-eight years, computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians. Apollodorus followed Eratosthenes, and both of them followed Thucydides in reckoning eighty years from the Trojan war to the’ Sir I. N. p.
50. lib. 1.
in Proem.

Plutarch.
in Lycurgo
sub initio.

return of the Heraclides: but in reckoning three hundred and twenty-eight years from that return to the first Olympiad, Diodorus tells us that the times were computed from the kings of the Lacedæmonians; and Plutarch tells us, that Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, and others, followed that computation: and since this reckoning is still received by chronologers, and was gathered by computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians, that is from their number, let us re-examine that computation.

‘ The Egyptians reckoned the reigns of kings equippollent to generations of men, and three generations to a hundred years, as above; so did the Greeks and Latines, and accordingly they have made their kings reign one with another thirty and three years a-piece, and above.

‘ For they make the seven kings of Rome, who preceded the consuls, to have reigned two hundred and forty-four years, which is thirty-five years a-piece.

‘ And the first twelve kings of Sicyon, Ægialeus, Europs, &c. to have reigned five hundred and twenty-nine years, which is forty-four years a-piece:

‘ And the first eight kings of Argos, Inachus, Phoroneus, &c. to have reigned three hundred and seventy-one years, which is above forty-six years a-piece:

‘ And between the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, and the end of the first Messenian war, the ten kings of Sparta in one race,

1. Eurysthenes,
2. Agis,
3. Echestratus,
4. Labotas,
5. Doryagus,
6. Agesilaus,
7. Archelaus,
8. Teleclus,
9. Alcamenes, and
10. Polydorus;

the nine in the other * race, the ten † kings of Messene, and the nine ‡ of Arcadia; according to chronologers, took up three hundred and seventy-nine years: which is thirty-eight years a piece to the ten kings, and forty-two years a-piece to the nine. And the five kings [following Polydorus] of the race of Eurysthenes, between the end of the first Messenian war, and the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis; Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycrates II., Leon, Anaxandrides, reigned two hundred and two years, which is above forty years a-piece:

‘ Thus the Greek chronologers, who follow Timæus and Eratosthenes, have made the kings of their several cities, who lived before the times of the Persian empire, to reign about thirty-five or forty years a-piece, one with another; which is a length so much beyond the course of nature as is not to be credited. For by the ordinary course of nature, kings reign, one with another, about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and if in some instances they reign, one with another, five or six years longer, in others they reign as much shorter: eighteen or twenty years is a medium.

‘ So the eighteen kings of Judah who succeeded Solomon, reigned three hundred and ninety years, which is one with another twenty-two years a-piece.

‘ The fifteen kings of Israel after Solomon, reigned two hundred and fifty-nine years, which is seventeen years and a quarter a-piece.

‘ The eighteen kings of Babylon; Nabonassar, &c.

* 1. Procles, 2. Sous, 3. Eurypon, 4. Prytanis, 5. Eunomus, 6. Polydectes, 7. Charilaus, 8. Nicander, 9. Theopompus.

† 1. Cresphontes, 2. Epytus, 3. Glaucus, 4. Isthmus, 5. Dotadas, 6. Sibotas, 7. Phintas, 8. Antiochus, 9. Euphaes, 10. Aristodemus.

‡ 1. Cypselus, 2. Olaus, 3. Buchalion, 4. Phialus, 5. Simus, 6. Pompus, 7. Ægineta, 8. Polymnestor, 9. Æchmis.

reigned two hundred and nine years, which is eleven years and two-thirds a-piece.

‘ The ten kings of Persia; Cyrus, Cambyses, &c. reigned two hundred and eight years, which is almost twenty-one years a-piece.

‘ The sixteen successors of Alexander the Great, and of his brother and son in Syria; Seleucus, Antiochus Soter, &c. reigned two hundred and forty-four years, after the breaking of that monarchy into various kingdoms, which is fifteen years and a quarter a-piece.

‘ The eleven kings of Egypt; Ptolemæus Lagi, &c. reigned two hundred and seventy-seven years, counted from the same period, which is twenty-five years a-piece.

‘ The eight in Macedonia; Cassander, &c. reigned one hundred and thirty-eight years, which is seventeen years and a quarter a-piece.

‘ The thirty kings of England; William the Conqueror, William Rufus, &c. reigned six hundred and forty-eight years, which is twenty-one years and a half a-piece.

‘ The first twenty-four kings of France; Pharamundus, &c. reigned four hundred and fifty-eight years, which is nineteen years a-piece.

‘ The next twenty-four kings of France, Ludovicus Balbus, &c. four hundred and fifty-one years, which is eighteen years and three quarters a-piece.

‘ The next fifteen, Philip Valesius, &c. three hundred and fifteen years, which is twenty-one years a-piece.

‘ And all the sixty-three kings of France, one thousand two hundred and twenty-four years, which is nineteen years and a half a-piece.

‘ Generations from father to son may be reckoned one with another at about thirty-three or thirty-four years a-piece, or about three generations to a hundred years: but if the reckoning proceed by the eldest sons, they are shorter, so that three of them may be reckoned at about seventy-five or eighty years; and the reigns of kings are still shorter, because kings are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but sometimes by their

brothers, and sometimes they are slain or deposed; and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms.

‘ In the later ages, since chronology hath been exact, there is scarce an instance to be found of ten kings reigning any where in continual succession above two hundred and sixty years; but Timæus and his followers, and I think also some of his predecessors, after the example of the Egyptians, have taken the reigns of kings for generations, and reckoned three generations to a hundred, and sometimes to a hundred and twenty years; and founded the technical chronology of the Greeks upon this way of reckoning. Let the reckoning be reduced to the course of nature, by putting the reigns of kings one with another, at about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and the ten kings of Sparta by one race, the nine by another race, the ten kings of Messene, and the nine of Arcadia, above-mentioned, between the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, and the end of the first Messenian war, will scarce take up above a hundred and eighty or a hundred and ninety years: whereas according to chronologers they took up three hundred and seventy-nine years.—

‘ Chronologers have [not only] lengthened the time, between the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus and the first Messenian war,—they have also lengthened the time between that war and the rise of the Persian empire.

‘ For in the race of the Spartan kings, descended from Eurysthenes; after Polydorus, reigned these kings: Herod. l. 7.

11. Eurycrates,
12. Anaxander,
13. Eurycrates II.
14. Leon,
15. Anaxandrides,
16. Cleomenes,
17. Leonidas, &c.

Herod. l. 8.

‘ And in the other race descended from Procles; after Theopompus [the ninth king] reigned these, Anaxandrides, Archidemus, Anaxileus, Leutychides, Hippocratides, Ariston, Demaratus, Leutychides II. &c. according to Herodotus. These kings reigned till the sixth year of Xerxes, in which Leonidas was slain by the Persians at Thermopylæ; and Leutychides II. soon after, flying from Sparta to Tegea, died there.

‘ The seven reigns of the kings of Sparta, which follow Polydorus, being added to the ten reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Eurysthenes, make up seventeen reigns of kings between the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus and the sixth year of Xerxes: and the eight reigns following Theopompus, being added to the nine reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Procles, made up also seventeen reigns, and these seventeen reigns, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto three hundred and forty years. Count these three hundred and forty years upwards from the sixth year of Xerxes and one or two years more for the war of the Heraclides, and the reign of Aristodemus, the father of Eurysthenes and Procles; and they will place the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, a hundred and fifty-nine years after the death of Solomon, and forty-six years * before the first Olympiad, in which Coræbus was victor. But the followers of Timæus have placed this return two hundred and eighty years † earlier. Now this being the computation upon which the Greeks, as you have heard from Diodorus and Plutarch, have founded the chronology of their kingdoms, which were ancients than the Persian empire; that chronology is to be rectified by shortening the times which preceded the death of Cyrus, in the proportion of almost two to one; for the times which follow the death of Cyrus are not much amiss.’

[The truth of Sir I. N.’s computation with regard

* i. e. Ant.
Chr. 822.

† i. e. 1102.

to the reigns of the seventeen kings of Sparta, of whom Leonidas was the last, seems to be well supported by the space of time filled up by the reigns of the thirteen kings (of the same line) who reigned in succession after Leonidas.

Leonidas was slain in the year before Christ, 480.

Cleomenes, the last of the thirteen kings who reigned after him, being expelled Peloponnesus, killed himself in Egypt (as Petavius * hath shewn) in 219, before Christ.

* Rat.
Temp.
par. I. l. 4.
c. 4.

The years between the deaths of these two kings are two hundred and sixty-one, so that the thirteen kings in succession from Leonidas reigned but about twenty years a-piece one with another.]

‘As for the chronology of the Latines, that is still more uncertain [than the chronology of the Greeks]. † Plutarch represents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome, and so doth ‡ Servius. The old records of the Latines were burnt || by the Gauls a hundred and twenty years after the Regifuge, and sixty-four years before the death of Alexander the Great: and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian of the Latines, lived a hundred years later than that king, and took almost all things [concerning the originals of Rome] from Diocles Peparethius a Greek.

Sir I. N.
p. 49.

† Plut. in
Rom. &
Num.
‡ In Æn. 7.
v. 678.
|| Diod. L. 1.

‘When the Romans conquered the Carthaginians, the archives of Carthage came into their hands. And thence Appian, in his history of the Punic wars, tells in round numbers that Carthage stood seven hundred years; and Solinus adds the odd number of years [thirty-seven] in these words: “Adrymeto atque Carthagini author est a Tyro populus. Urbem istam, ut Cato in oratione senatoria autumat, cum rex Hiarbas rerum in Libya potiretur, Elissa mulier extruxit, domo Phœnix, et Carthadam dixit, quod Phœnicum ore exprimit civitatem novam; mox sermone verso Carthago dicta est,

Sir I. N.
p. 64.
Solin. c. 30.

quæ post annos septingentos triginta septem exciditur quam fuerat extructa."

* Ant. Chr.
146.

' Elissa was Dido, and Carthage was destroyed in the consulship of Lentulus and Mummius in the year of the Julian period 4568; * from whence count backward seven hundred and thirty-seven years, and the Encænïa or dedication of the city will fall upon the sixteenth year of Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, and king of Tyre. She fled in the seventh year of Pygmalion, but the æra of the city began with its Encænïa.

' Now Virgil and his scholiast Servius, who might have some things from the archives of Tyre and Cyprus, as well as from those of Carthage, relate that Teucer came from the war of Troy to Cyprus, in the days of Dido, a little before the reign of her brother Pygmalion; and in conjunction with her father, seized Cyprus, and ejected Cinyras: and the marbles say, that Teucer came to Cyprus seven years after the destruction of Troy, and built Salamis; and Apollodorus, that Cinyras married Metharme the daughter of Pygmalion, and built Paphos. Therefore, if the Romans, in the days of Augustus, followed not altogether the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, but had those things from the records of Carthage, Cyprus, or Tyre; the arrival of Teucer at Cyprus will be in the reign of the predecessor of Pygmalion, and by consequence the destruction of Troy, about seventy-six years later than the death of Solomon.

Ant. Chr.
903.

Dionys.
l. 1. p. 15.

' Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us that in the time of the Trojan war, Latinus was king of the Aborigines in Italy, and that in the sixteenth age after that war Romulus built Rome. By ages he means reigns of kings; for after Latinus he names sixteen kings of the Latines, the last of which was Numitor, in whose days Romulus built Rome: for Romulus was contemporary to Numitor, and after him Dionysius and others

reckon six kings more over Rome, to the beginning of the consuls. Now these twenty and two reigns, at about eighteen years to a reign one with another, for so many of these kings were slain, took up three hundred and ninety-six years; which counted back from the consulship of Junius Brutus and Valerius Publicola, the two first consuls, place the Trojan war about seventy-eight years after the death of Solomon.

Ant. Chr.
905.

‘ When the Greeks and Latines were forming their technical chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of Rome; the Greeks made it much older than the Olympiads: some of them said it was built by Æneas: others, by Romus, the son or grandson of Æneas; others, by Romus, the son or grandson of Latinus king of the Aborigines; others, by Romus, the son of Ulysses, or of Ascanius, or of Italus; and some of the Latines at first fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, saying that it was built by Romulus the son or grandson of Æneas. Timæus Siculus represented it built by Romulus the grandson of Æneas, above a hundred years before the Olympiads, and so did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, and served in the first Punic war, and wrote the history of that war.

Sir I. N.
p. 123.
Vid. Dion.
Halicarn.
l. 1. p. 44,
45.

‘ Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon, but about a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to say that Rome was built a second time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the destruction of Troy: by ages they meant reigns of the kings of the Latines at Alba, and reckoned the first fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty-two years, and the following reigns of the seven kings of Rome at two hundred and forty-four years, both which numbers made up the time of about six hundred and seventy-six years from the taking of Troy, according to these chronologers; but are much too long for the course of nature: and by this reckoning, they placed the

building of Rome upon the sixth or seventh Olympiad : Varro * placed it on the first year of the seventh Olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the Romans ; but this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature : for I do not meet with any instance in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned two hundred and forty-four years in continual succession.

‘ The fourteen reigns of the kings of the Latines, at

* If this be not an error of the press, yet doubtless Sir Isaac Newton meant to write Cato, not Varro. Varro placed the foundation of Rome in the third year of the 6th Olympiad [Ant. Chr. 753.] Cato in the first year of the 7th [Ant. Chr. 751.]

These two writers agreed in giving two hundred and forty-four years to the regal state of Rome, but, as they fixed the æra of the city by reckoning backward, and counted the years of the republic by the annual magistracies, and as Varro, in this way of counting, gave to the republic two years more than Cato ; he of course placed the building of Rome two years farther back than Cato had done.

There were three dictatorships, to each of which Varro allotted a whole year, which dictatorships Cato had considered as only superseding so many consulships, and therefore reckoned each consulship and the dictatorship that superseded it as filling but one year. And this would have made Varro’s reckoning, upon the whole, exceed Cato’s by three years ; but Varro by placing, in one and the same year, the third decemvirate, and the succeeding consulship ; to which magistracies Cato allotted distinct years, the reckoning of Varro, upon the whole, exceeded that of Cato by two years only.

The Capitoline marbles, with regard to the three dictatorships and the third decemvirate, reckon like Varro ; but as they give only two hundred and forty-three years to the regal state of Rome, their chronology, upon the whole, has a year less than Varro’s, and a year more than Cato’s.

See notes sur Chron. Grecque-Rom. Selon D. Hal. by the French translator of Dionysius, p. 34.

twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto two hundred and eighty years, and these years counted from the taking of Troy end in the 38th Olympiad: and the seven reigns of the kings of Rome, four or five of them being slain, and one deposed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or sixteen years a-piece one with another: let them be reckoned at seventeen years a-piece, and they will amount unto a hundred and nineteen years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end also in the 38th Olympiad: and by these two reckonings Rome was built in the 38th Olympiad, or thereabout.

Ant. Chr.
627.

‘The two hundred and eighty years and the hundred and nineteen years together make up three hundred and ninety-nine years; and the same number of years arises by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years a-piece; and this being the whole time between the taking of Troy and the Regifuge, let these years be counted backward from the * Regifuge An. 1. Olymp. 68. and they will place the taking of Troy about seventy-four years after the death of Solomon.’ [Which death of Solomon Sir Isaac Newton places nine hundred and seventy-nine years before the Christian æra; so that the fall of Troy, soon after which Æneas began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before that æra; and as Sir Isaac makes the flight of Dido from Tyre to be Ant. Chr. 892. there were, according to this computation, but about thirteen years between these two last mentioned events.]

* Ant. Chr.
508.

Vid. *supr.*
p. xxviii.

Mr. Whiston, in his treatise, entitled *A Confutation of Sir Isaac Newton’s Chronology*, observes, (p. 987.) that “In England we have had nine successive reigns at almost thirty years a-piece, from Henry I. to Edward III.

“And twelve at almost twenty-eight years

a-piece, from William the Conqueror to Richard II.

“ And the French have had six reigns together at almost forty years a-piece, from Robert to Philip II.

“ And eight reigns at above thirty-five years a-piece, from Robert to Louis IX.

“ And ten reigns at almost thirty-three years a-piece, from Robert to Philip IV. all inclusive, as these tables will shew.

KINGS of ENGLAND.

1.	William the Conqueror	21.
2.	William Rufus . . .	13.
3.	Henry I.	35.
4.	Stephen	19.
5.	Henry II.	35.
6.	Richard I.	11.
7.	John	17.
8.	Henry III.	56.
9.	Edward I.	34.
10.	Edward II.	19.
11.	Edward III.	51.
12.	Richard II.	22.

12) 333 (27 $\frac{3}{4}$

KINGS of FRANCE.

1.	Rupert or Robert . . .	45.
2.	Henry I.	28.
3.	Philip I.	48.

4. Lewis VI.	.	.	.	29.
5. Lewis VII.	.	.	.	43.
6. Philip II.	.	.	.	43.
7. Lewis VIII.	.	.	.	3.
8. Lewis IX.	.	.	.	44.
9. Philip III.	.	.	.	15.
10. Philip IV.	.	.	.	29.

10) 327 ($32\frac{3}{4}$)

From these examples Mr. Whiston infers, that we ought not to reject or alter the series of the reigns of the twelve kings of Macedonia, from Caranus, of the Heraclidæ, to Archelaus, which twelve reigns take up four hundred and fifteen years. 12) 415 ($34\frac{1}{2}$ Nor the series of the reigns of the eight last of the Latine kings, from Amulius to Tarquin the Proud, which takes up two hundred and eighty-six years. 8) 286 ($35\frac{3}{4}$ Which reigns of Macedonian and Latine kings, he observes, are of all he had before marked (in several series of ancient long reigns) the longest in proportion, because they began after human life was reduced to its present standard.

Now I think it must be granted, that the examples, which Mr. Whiston has produced of long reigns in succession, both in England and in France, would be sufficient to make it credible, that the seven kings of Rome reigned as long as they are reported to have done, if there were no objection to this report, but its being uncommon to find, in authentic and undisputed history, seven kings reigning, in

succession, thirty-five years a-piece one with another. But here it may be proper to consider,

I. That we have no better authority for the long reigns of the seven kings of Rome, than for the long reigns of the fourteen kings of Alba, their predecessors; and there is no instance, since chronology was certain, of twenty-one kings in succession reigning near thirty-two years a-piece, one with another, as the twenty-one kings in question are represented to have done.

Mr. Whiston, as we see above, has given us ten kings of France in succession, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, or thirty-two years and three quarters a-piece.

I think he has stretched the reign of Robert ten or eleven years beyond its true length. But, letting that pass, if to these ten kings we add the five that preceded them, and the six that followed them to make the number twenty-one, we shall find, that the twenty-one kings reigned but about twenty-one years a-piece one with another.

For Raoul, the first of the twenty-one, began to reign An. Dom. 923, and Jean II, the last of the twenty-one, died in 1363, the whole space four hundred and forty years.

If to the ten kings we add the eleven that preceded them, the reigns of the twenty-one will be still shorter.

Indeed if to the ten we add the eleven that followed them, the twenty-one reigns amount to near twenty-four years a-piece one with

another. But this is far short of thirty-two years a-piece, to which the twenty-one reigns of the Latine kings amount, within a trifle, according to bishop Lloyd's tables, cited by Mr. Whiston.

So likewise, though we have had in England twelve successive reigns at almost twenty-eight years a-piece, from William the Conqueror to Richard II. yet, if to those twelve we add the nine reigns which followed that of Richard II, we shall find that the twenty-one kings did not reign quite twenty-three years a-piece one with another.

II. It may be further observed, that the old chronology, which makes the reigns of twenty-one Latine kings fill up a space of time so much longer than the reigns of the same number of kings of any country have ever done since chronology was certain, does in like manner make the reigns of every series of kings of the most ancient kingdoms exceed, in duration, what the common course of nature, as known by true history, admits; which universal excess affords a probable argument, that the old chronology was wholly artificial, and not founded on authentic records or monuments.

When I say, every series of kings, it might perhaps be expected, that I should except the long succession of kings in Egypt, (from the time of Mizraim the son of Ham) to which numerous kings short reigns * are assigned by

* Mr. Whiston (in p. 975) makes the following observation:

“Manetho, when he speaks of the several dynasties of

the old chronology: but I consider those series of Egyptian monarchs as fabulous. For indeed the short reigns, assigned to them, are alone almost a demonstrative proof, that the greater number of the kings, in those series, never existed, or at least not in line of succession; as I shall show hereafter.

III. That most of the seven kings of Rome being slain, and one deposed, there arises hence a great improbability of their reigning thirty-five years a-piece, one with another.

IV. And lastly, that in the accounts given us of those seven kings, there are some particulars, by which the historians discover the uncertainty of their chronology, and some that seem entirely to refute it, as the following remarks will shew.

Egypt, or of the several succession of collateral kingdoms, mentions the principal successions as extending to a hundred and thirteen generations in three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years: and implies, that the first sixteen, which were chiefly before the deluge, were more than equal to the other ninety-seven: those sixteen containing no fewer than one thousand nine hundred and eighty-five years; and the ninety-seven no more than one thousand five hundred and seventy years: the former allowing to each generation or succession a hundred and twenty-four years: as the duration of human life before the deluge well admitted; (and the Chaldæan succession at Babylon in Abydenus and Berosus equally admitted also) while the latter allows but a little above sixteen years to such a succession, till the days of Alexander the Great: which last small number might yet well agree to those latter ages of the kingdom of Egypt, which might be subject to great disturbances and changes of government all along."

ROMULUS.

The historians give thirty-seven or thirty-eight years to the reign of Romulus, yet if they had not expressly affirmed that he reigned so long, we should never have imagined, from any thing they relate of his life or death, that his government was of near so long a duration : we should rather have concluded from what they themselves have written concerning him, that he reigned little more than seventeen years.

I. Plutarch having related how Romulus took Fidenæ and sent thither a Roman colony on the ides of April, goes on to tell us, that shortly after a plague broke out, and that before the plague ceased, the Camerini invaded the Roman territory ; that Romulus without delay marched against them, defeated them, took Camerium, their city, transplanted half its inhabitants to Rome, and on the kalends of August sent from Rome double the number of Roman citizens to Camerium : so greatly (adds Plutarch) was the number of his citizens increased in sixteen years time from the building of the city.

The same author proceeds immediately to relate, that the Veientes, alarmed at this increase of the Roman power, made Fidenæ the pretence for beginning a war with Rome. They demanded Fidenæ back as a city belonging to them ; and their demand being scornfully rejected, they took the field, dividing

their forces into two bodies : one attacked the Roman army of Fidenæ with success ; the other marched against Romulus, and was defeated by him. One battle more put an end to the war : Romulus obtained a decisive victory, for which he triumphed on the ides of October.

Not only Plutarch, but Livy and Dionysius make Fidenæ the pretence for the war undertaken by the Veientes ; and they speak of this war as begun presently after the reduction of that town by the Romans. It is not therefore without good reason that Pighius places the king's triumph over the Veientes in his seventeenth year.

II. It appears from Dionysius, Livy, and Plutarch, that the victory over the Veientes was the last military exploit of Romulus's life.

Dionysius having related the particulars of the war with Veii, the decisive victory gained by Romulus, and his triumph on that occasion, concludes with words to this effect : “ These are the most memorable wars of Romulus ; an untimely death, when he was in the bloom of his military glory, hindered him from subduing any of the other neighbouring nations* : ”

Livy, when he has spoken of the same war, goes on much in the same manner with Dionysius † : “ These were almost all the achieve-

* Οὔτοι συνεζησαν πολεμοὶ Ρωμυλῷ λογὸν καὶ μνημὴς ἀξιοὶ τοῦ δε μῆδεν ἐτι τῶν πλεσιῶν ἔθνων ὑπαγαγεσθαι, ταχέια ἢ τελευτή του βίης, συμβάσα ἐτι ἀκμαζόντι αὐτῷ τὰ πολεμια πρᾶττειν, ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενεσθαι ἔδοξε. p. 114.

† Hæc ferme Romulo regnante domi militiæque gesta.
L. 1. c. 15.

ments at home and abroad during the reign of Romulus;" and then speaks of his death. And,

Plutarch says expressly, that this war, [with the Veientes] was the last war that Romulus ever waged*.

If then these two points be granted, that Romulus's war with Veii was his last war, and that this was finished about the seventeenth year of Rome, it will follow, that the twenty last years of his reign, if he reigned thirty-seven, were years of peace. But is it probable, that a prince of so active and enterprising a spirit should pass twenty years in peace with all his neighbours? Or if the Romans, when they sent an offer of the kingdom to Numa, had, of thirty-seven years, (the whole period since the birth of their state,) been the last twenty in peace, how could he, with any propriety or truth, in his answer to the deputies, speak of the Romans as a people of a restless spirit, ever in war, and insatiably eager of conquest? Plutarch tells us, that the Romans, when Numa ascended the throne, were become hard as iron by war; and that this prince thought religion the only means to soften such stubborn minds, and moderate their martial fury: and Livy calls them *animos militia efferatos*. There is nothing in any of the historians to favour the supposition of Rome's continuing twenty years in peace in Romulus's

See Hist.
p. 107.

* Τετον ἐσχάλον πολεμον ὁ Ρωμυλος ἐπολεμήσεν. p. 33. Vit. Rom.

time, except this only, that they fix his death to the thirty-seventh year of the city, and make his wars end about the seventeenth.

III. May it not be fairly collected from all the three historians before-mentioned, that Romulus's victory over the Veientes was not only the last military exploit of his life, but an exploit which did not long precede his death? It has been already observed, that Dionysius and Livy pass immediately from the conclusion of the Veientan war, to the king's assassination. Plutarch does the same, and it is farther to be remarked, that Plutarch and Dionysius make the affront which Romulus put upon the senators, when, without consulting them, he restored to the Veientes fifty hostages (which they had given him to secure the performance of their engagements by the treaty of peace) to be one of the chief provocations which incited the senators to murder him. And this offence is mentioned as a thing recent at the time of his death: "his sudden disappearing soon after this," says Plutarch, "brought the senate under suspicion and calumny." And the same historian mentions another recent offence given the senate; that the king by his sole authority shared among the soldiers the lands acquired by the war. It is not indeed said, at what time the king gave the senators these provocations, but we cannot easily suppose it to have been a great while after the war; and it will be very hard to suppose that it was twenty years after.

Plutarch is, I think, the only ancient writer who speaks of Romulus's moderation in not possessing himself of the kingdom of Alba, upon the death of his grandfather Numitor, to which kingdom he supposes Romulus to have had a right of inheritance. Now supposing Romulus to have been heir-apparent to his grandfather, and yet never to have possessed Alba, it is much more probable that the grandfather outlived the grandson, than that the grandson declined a succession to which he had an hereditary right. This imagination which Plutarch had of the politic moderation of Romulus (for it was to regain the good-will of his people) seems wholly founded on the supposition that he reigned thirty-seven years, in which case he probably outlived his grandfather: but if Romulus reigned but seventeen years, his grandfather may very well be supposed to have outlived him; for, according to Plutarch himself, Romulus was but seventeen years old when he began to reign.

NUMA.

There are several considerations, which make it seem very improbable that Numa reigned forty-three years. His reign is by all represented as a reign of uninterrupted peace; and the sole object of his government, to turn the minds of his subjects wholly from war to agriculture and other honest occupations, and to religious exercises.

His people look upon him as the wisest man and best king in the world, and revere him as their common father. Nevertheless this very people, of whom not a man, fit to bear arms, had ever drawn a sword, are after forty-three years habit of industry and devotion, brought at once, as soon as Numa is dead, totally to neglect his religious institutions, pick quarrels with their neighbours, and go to fighting as readily, as if war had been their constant and only trade. Has this any appearance of probability? Is it not natural to believe rather that Numa's reign did not last above fifteen or sixteen years, and that the army which Tullus Hostilius led into the field consisted chiefly of Romulus's soldiers, who had been early inured to robbery and plundering, and whom Numa's discipline had not cured of their first habits and dispositions?

But, as to Numa, there is another difficulty, with which Livy, Dionysius, and Plutarch, were much embarrassed, and which will be wholly removed by Sir Isaac Newton's calculations.

All those three historians take notice of a tradition which had universally prevailed among the Romans, that Numa was instructed by Pythagoras the Samian philosopher. This tradition they all reject; and they imagine, it had no foundation but the conformity between the tenets of Pythagoras and those of Numa. At the same time, they have no argument against the truth of the fact, but what

they draw from the received * chronology of the regal state of Rome.

“Pythagoras (says Dionysius) was posterior to Numa, not a few years, but four entire generations,” i. e. four reigns of kings: for as he goes on “Numa began his reign in the middle of the 16th Olympiad, and Pythagoras taught in Italy after the 50th † Olympiad, *μετα την πεν-* L. 2. p. 116.

* Plutarch speaks of some writers who (probably to get rid of the difficulty arising from this old tradition, compared with the received chronology of the kings of Rome) imagined, that a certain Pythagoras, a Spartan, who gained the prize at the races in the 6th Olympiad, might be Numa’s instructor. Dionysius likewise mentions this racer, but declares that he knows of no good author, Greek or Roman, who speaks of him as conversing with Numa. In Numa.

† Cicero says, * that Pythagoras came into Italy in the reign of Tarquin the Proud; and that he was in Italy when Brutus freed Rome from tyranny, i. e. two hundred and six years after the beginning of Numa’s reign, and in the 68th Olympiad. He supposes, that posterity being ignorant of the remote times [*cum ætates & tempora ignorarent propter vetustatem*] and comparing the wisdom of Numa with that of Pythagoras, imagined, from that comparison, the king to have been a disciple of the philosopher. Now on this I observe,

1. That whatever reasons Cicero might have to place the coming of Pythagoras into Italy in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, it is plain, that Livy, Dionysius, and Pliny thought the orator in a mistake, and had no deference to his authority in this particular.

[“The most accurate chronology,” says Mr. Stanley, “teacheth (as Mr. Selden observes) that Pythagoras flourished betwixt the 50th and 52d Olympiad,” p. 350.]

2. I observe, that Cicero supposes his countrymen, when they first entertained the notion of Numa’s being instructed by Pythagoras, to have been extremely ignorant of the times

* Tusc. Qu. L. 1. c. 16. Ibid. L. 4. c. 1.

τηκοσην," [in the fourth year * of which Olympiad he places the accession of Servius Tullius, the fifth king from Numa. The whole number of years between Numa's accession and that of Servius Tullius is a hundred and thirty-seven.]

Now taking it for granted that Dionysius means to say, that Pythagoras began to teach in Italy soon after the 50th Olympiad, and that he is right in this particular, a strong presumption will arise, from the constant tradition of his intercourse with Numa, that this king did not begin to reign in the 16th Olympiad, but much later.

of their kings, and particularly of the time when Numa lived. For, as to the time of Pythagoras, Cicero, who believed that he was still living in Italy in the first year of the republic, could hardly suppose that the Romans made a mistake of two hundred years in their reckoning; and especially after their conquest of that country where Pythagoras had resided. Yet the notion of his being contemporary with Numa prevailed after that conquest.

It would seem therefore that the chronology of the regal state of Rome was invented and framed long after the opinion concerning the intercourse between Numa and Pythagoras had been entertained; and if so, that the chronology ought rather to be rejected on account of the tradition, than the tradition rejected on account of the chronology, especially as the latter is not agreeable to the common course of nature, with regard to the reigns of kings; and the former is entirely consistent with it.

* When Dionysius places the accession of Servius to the throne in the 50th Olympiad, he goes upon the supposition, that Servius reigned forty-four years. But I shall presently endeavour to shew that it is probable he did not reign above twenty years, nor come to the throne till about the 56th Olympiad, and yet that Pythagoras might be then living at Crotona, though he had been Numa's instructor.

According to Sir Isaac Newton's computations Rome was not built till about the 38th Olympiad; on which supposition, if we allow about seventeen years for the reign of Romulus, Numa's accession to the throne will have been about the middle of the 42d Olympiad. And if this computation be just, there will have been but about thirty-four years (not a hundred and thirty-seven) between the succession of Numa to the throne, and the arrival of Pythagoras in Italy; even supposing that Pythagoras did not come into Italy till the 51st Olympiad; which however is not asserted by Dionysius.

“ St. Austin (says Mr. Bayle) would easily have believed, that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras; for he says, that Thales lived during the reign of Romulus. Now we know, that Thales and Pherecydes were contemporary, and that Pythagoras was a disciple of Pherecydes; and some pretend that * Thales was so too. It is certain, at least, that Pythagoras and Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, lived at the same time.”

That Pythagoras was contemporary with Thales is no less certain, if Thales outlived Pherecydes, to whom Pythagoras was a disciple. And that Thales outlived Pherecydes is manifest from a letter which Pherecydes, upon his death-bed, wrote to Thales.

It is generally admitted, that Thales was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad. This opinion was adopted by Petavius, Mr. Bayle and Mr. Stanley; and Sir Isaac Newton

Pythag.
(B)

* Tzetzes.

Laert. Vit.
Pherec.

Apollodorus apud
Laert. Vit.
Thal.
Chron. p.
92.

seems to follow it, when he supposes, "that Thales in the 41st Olympiad applied himself to astronomical studies, and predicted eclipses, being then a young man," [about twenty-eight years of age.]

If then Sir Isaac Newton be right in placing the foundation of Rome about the 38th Olympiad, St. Austin will not have erred in thinking, that Thales was contemporary with Romulus, though Mr. Bayle seems to smile at the bishop's notion.

The ancient writers are of different opinions, concerning the times of Pythagoras's birth, and of his going into Egypt and into Italy, and of his death. But it seems to be universally agreed that he was contemporary with Thales, and the rest of the seven wise men, who all flourished between the 40th and 55th Olympiads.

L. 2. c. 8.

And, if we may believe Pliny, Pythagoras could not be much younger than Thales. For Pliny says, that "Pythagoras observed the nature of the star Venus, about the 42d Olympiad, year of Rome 142*" [i. e. the 142d of Rome according to the reckoning of Cato.]

p. 266.

* "Both these numbers (says father Harduin, in his notes on Pliny) must be gross corruptions, or Pliny must have grievously blundered, *graviter hallucinatum*." Why so? "Because Laertius says, that Pythagoras was in the 60th Olympiad, Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatian in the 62d Olympiad, and Eusebius writes, that he died in the 70th Olympiad: and Dionys. Halic. says that Pythagoras flourished after the 50th Olympiad; he seems indeed to speak without precision and at large," i. e. he does not say how long after.

I must here observe, that F. Harduin would have us un-

Now, as I observed before, it was in this very Olympiad, that Numa came to the throne

derstand the passage in Dionysius to mean certainly, that Pythagoras did not begin to flourish till after the 50th Olympiad. But this is not the clear import of the historian's words. He says nothing of the time when Pythagoras began to flourish, but says that he was posterior to Numa four entire generations [or four reigns of kings] and that he lived or taught [there are two readings] in Italy after the 50th Olympiad, that is, so late as after that Olympiad, so late as in the reign of the fifth king from Numa. He does not say at what time the philosopher came into Italy, and began to teach there. This might be long before the 50th Olympiad: but it was enough for Dionysius's purpose, that Pythagoras was living, after the 50th Olympiad: for if so, and if Numa came to the throne in the 16th Olympiad, the king could not have been a disciple of the philosopher, which was all that Dionysius wanted to make out. His affirming that Pythagoras taught in Italy after the 50th Olympiad does in no wise clash with the passage above cited from Pliny.

But as to Pliny's blundering, why may not Laertius, Clemens, Tatian, and Eusebius be as easily supposed to blunder as he? It is not improbable, that they all four took Cicero for their guide, who, in the opinion of Livy and Dionysius, did grossly blunder with regard to the point in question.

And as to a corruption of Pliny's text by transcribers; since there are two æras made use of, and the numbers in both ways of reckoning coincide in one and the same year, there is little ground to suppose a corruption, unless it can be shewn that Pliny has elsewhere said something that is repugnant to what is expressed in the passage before us; but the annotator having produced nothing of this sort, one may naturally conclude that he met with nothing in his author to the purpose.

Indeed there is in Pliny one passage, which as Sir Isaac Newton has happened (not according to his usual exactness) to translate it, seems not to square with Pythagoras's making astronomical observations in the 42d Olympiad. Sir Isaac Newton's words are these: "Pliny, in reckoning up the

according to Sir Isaac Newton's computations, if we allow but seventeen years to the reign of Romulus.

inventors of things, tells us, that Pherecydes Scyrius taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of Cyrus.' Now Cyrus did not found the Persian monarchy till the fourth year of the 62d Olympiad: and if Pythagoras was old enough in the 42d Olympiad to observe the nature of the star Venus, we must suppose that his master Pherecydes was born as early at least as the 32d Olympiad, in which case he must have been a hundred and twenty years old at the beginning of the Persian monarchy. But Pliny does not say, that Pherecydes taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of Cyrus, *Cyro rege regnante*, but in the time, the age of Cyrus, *Cyri regis ætate*; L. 7. c. 26. and Cyrus was born in the second year of the 45th Olympiad, and was sixty-three years old when he came to the empire. So that supposing Pherecydes born so early as about the 32d Olympiad, he was but fifty-two or fifty-three years old at the birth of Cyrus; and if he taught prose writing in any part of Cyrus's life, the objection is removed.

Further: that Pherecydes did not teach in the 62d Olympiad is evident; because he died before Thales, who died in the 58th Olympiad, as is generally agreed.

There is another passage in Pliny, which, with regard to the point in question, deserves to be remarked. In L. 36. c. 9. he speaks of an Egyptian obelisk that was made by king Semneserteus, in whose reign (he says) Pythagoras was in Ægypt. *Is autem obeliscus excisus est à rege Semneserteo, quo regnante Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit.* F. Harduin, possessed with the opinion, that Pythagoras flourished not so early as Pliny represents him in L. 2. c. 8. and therefore that Pliny blundered in that part of his work, supposes, that he is right here, when he says that the philosopher was in Egypt in the reign of king Semneserteus. But who is king Semneserteus? According to F. Harduin, Pliny can mean no other than Psamminitus the successor of Amasis. And why must Pliny, by Semneserteus, mean the successor of Amasis? Because Laertius and Tzetzes say, that Pythagoras went into Egypt in the reign of Amasis [who reigned long, and

Livy agrees with Dionysius as to the time of Pythagoras being in Italy, and makes use

died about the beginning of the 64th Olympiad]. So we are to understand, that Pliny knew this, and means to say, that Pythagoras was still in Egypt when Psammitus came to the throne. Now I observe,

1. That Cambyses was preparing to invade Egypt, before Amasis died, and in six months after his death dispossessed his successor Psammitus, who therefore, it is highly probable, had no leisure to attend to the making obelisks.

2. That it seems somewhat extraordinary, that Pliny should take occasion, from the mention of Psammitus, who can hardly be said to have reigned at all, to speak of his reign, as the time when Pythagoras was in Egypt. If Pliny had believed that Pythagoras went into Egypt in the reign of Amasis, and during that reign continued there many years, as he is represented by other writers to have done, it is natural to think, he would have taken occasion, rather from the mention of Amasis, than from the mention of his successor, an half-year king, to speak of Pythagoras being in Egypt.

I rather conclude therefore, that, by Semneserteus, Pliny means Psammitichus, who courted the Greeks, and encouraged strangers to settle in his country, and was the first king of Egypt who did so. He reigned long, and died in the third year of the 40th Olympiad. Pythagoras, who is said to have gone very young into Egypt, may have studied there some years in the latter part of this king's reign; and this will suit with what Pliny says of his observing the nature of the star Venus in the 42d Olympiad.

N. B. When Sir Isaac Newton places the building of Rome about the 38th Olympiad, it is by a reckoning backward from the Regifuge, (which was about the first year of the 68th Olympiad) and by allowing, to the seven kings, seventeen years a-piece, one with another. Nevertheless, as four or five of these kings were slain and one deposed, he thinks that at a moderate reckoning the seven reigns may be computed at fifteen or sixteen years a-piece. Now, computing them at fifteen years a-piece, we shall bring down the building of Rome to the 41st Olympiad, and of course the accession of Numa (allowing to Romulus seventeen years)

See Pri-
deaux,
Part I. B. 3.
p. 169.

Diod. Sic.
L. 1. c. 67.
Herod. L.
2. c. 154.

of the same argument against the old tradition. "It is manifest (says he) that Pythagoras in the time of Servius Tullius kept a school of young students in the remotest coast of Italy in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclaea, and Crotona." Be it so. It may nevertheless be true that Pythagoras was contemporary with Numa. For if the reigns of Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, and Tarquinius Priscus were very short, as from many particulars in the history there is great reason to believe they were, Pythagoras, who is said to have lived to the ages of eighty, ninety, ninety-nine, and a hundred and four, may very well have been contemporary with both Numa and Servius Tullius.

See Bayle.
Art. Pythag. (P)

When Livy adds "that the school kept by Pythagoras was above a * hundred years after Numa, *centum amplius post annos*," it is to conform himself to the received chronology of the kings of Rome; of which chronology I shall presently shew, that in his own mind he made little account, notwithstanding any thing he says. And indeed, if one considers the reasons which he gives, why Pythagoras, supposing him contemporary with Numa,

to the 45th Olympiad; and on this supposition Pythagoras may have been in Italy early enough to be Numa's instructor, before his accession to the throne.

* It is to be observed, that Livy affects no exactness in his reckoning. When he says above a hundred years after, if he counts from the death of Numa to the accession of Servius, the space of time is but ninety-four years: if he counts from the beginning of Numa's reign to the accession of Servius, the years are a hundred and thirty-seven, by the old chronology.

could not be his instructor, they must incline one to think that the historian is not serious in his opposing the common tradition. "How (says he) could the fame of Pythagoras reach from the south-east coast of Italy, where Pythagoras kept school, into Sabinia? By an intercourse in what language could Pythagoras excite in Numa a desire of learning? Under what protection could the one pass to the other through so many nations of different languages and manners? I am rather of opinion therefore, that Numa's mind was naturally virtuous, and was improved, not so much by science acquired from abroad, as by the severe doctrines and discipline of the ancient Sabines."

As to the want of a common language in which the king and the philosopher might converse, it is to be observed, that Livy, when he relates (after the prior historians) the discovery of Numa's books under ground, does not object to that part of the story which said that seven of those books were written in Greek, but to what Valerius Antias adds, namely, that those Greek books contained the doctrines of Pythagoras. "In this, (says Livy) Valerius suited his faith to the common opinion, that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras; a lie which has an appearance of truth: *Vulgatæ opinioni qua creditur Pythagoræ auditorem fuisse Numam mendacio probabili accommodata fide.*"

L. 40. c.
29.

That this lie, if it be a lie, has an appearance of truth, must doubtless be admitted on account of the constancy of the tradition concerning

the intercourse between Numa and Pythagoras, and on account of the undisputed conformity of the king's tenets with those of the philosopher. And there is one particular which gives this pretended lie so great an appearance of truth, that I should think we may admit it for a truth without being over credulous.

By Livy's report, Numa's books were discovered under ground in the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Bæbius Tamphilus, which, according to the common reckoning, was in the year of Rome 571, or 573. Plutarch and Pliny place this discovery in the same consulship, and Pliny reckons five hundred and thirty-five years from the beginning of Numa's reign to this discovery of his books, which reckoning places the latter in 573 of Rome, supposing Numa's reign to begin with the 39th of the city.

L. 13. c.
13.

It being certain, as was before observed, that Numa's tenets resembled those of Pythagoras, they must without question have been contrary to the religion which had been long established by law, at Rome, when his books were found; and accordingly these were, by order of the senate, burnt as heterodox: so Livy informs us; but at the same time tells us, that, before they were burnt, they had been read by so many persons, that they were in a manner public: now, though Livy cites no authority on this occasion but Valerius Antias, we learn from Pliny, that the historians Lucius Piso Censorius, and Cassius Hemina (who adhered to the old tradition) reported that Numa's

books contained the tenets of Pythagoras. And these authorities are very considerable in this case: because Piso being a tribune of the people in the consulship of Manilius and Censorinus, about thirty-three years after finding the books; and Cassius Hemina flourishing in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Mummius Achaicus, about thirty-seven years after the same discovery; those two historians were near enough to the time of the discovery, to have very good means of informing themselves, concerning the contents of the books, from some of the many persons who had perused them.

Cic. in
Brut. & L.
xi. de Off.
Censorinus,
Cap. xvii.

Ovid in his XVth book of Metamorphoses represents Numa as instructed by Pythagoras, which shews at least that this was still the popular and prevailing opinion in the time of Augustus.

The aim of all that has been said on the subject of Pythagoras, is to shew, that Sir Isaac Newton's computations, which bring down Numa to the time of Pythagoras, have the support of traditional and historical facts.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

To this third king of Rome the historians allot a reign of thirty-two years, and he is represented to us as a prince of a more fierce, restless, enterprising spirit than even Romulus, and as seeking every where pretences for war: *Ferocior etiam Romulo fuit: tum ætas*

Liv. L. 1
c. 22.

viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimu-

labat—undique materiam excitandi belliquærebat.
Yet the reduction and demolition of Alba in the beginning of his reign, and one victory which he soon after obtained over the Sabines, are the whole sum of his military exploits.

Not long after his victory he is seized with some lingering distemper, his spirit sinks, he falls into superstition, and is killed by Jupiter for not performing a sacrifice in due form [that is to say, is privately murdered by Ancus Martius who succeeded him.]

If Livy, after this account of him, had not told us that he reigned thirty-two years, we should hardly have imagined that he reigned two.

ANCUS MARTIUS.

Though more action be ascribed to this king, whose character is both martial and pacific, than to his predecessor, it does not seem that all his performances could require a fourth part of the twenty-four years that are given to his reign.

This remark, however, and that made on the history of Tullus Hostilius, are not offered as sufficient proofs, that these kings did not reign thirty-two and twenty-four years respectively, but only as probable arguments, which in conjunction with others, will have a degree of force. And thus much at least is certain, that the reigns of these two kings may have been very short, notwithstanding any achievements ascribed to them.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

The historians represent the elder Tarquin as very rich when he comes first from Hetruria to Rome, as very prosperous in war after his ascending the throne, and as having a taste for magnificence. This taste, and his ability to gratify it, carry him to design and begin several great works. He does not live to finish these, nor even to make any considerable progress in them, which affords some ground to conjecture that he did not reign thirty-eight years. But without laying any greater stress on this argument than it will bear, I proceed to another of more force with regard to the present purpose.

Whether this fifth king of Rome was the father or the grandfather of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh king, is a question considered, and with full confidence determined by Dionysius. He decides, contrary to the report of Fabius, and all the other prior historians (except L. Piso) that Priscus was the grandfather of Superbus, and he imputes the supposed error of the historians from whom he differs to their not being aware of the absurdities in which their opinion involved them.

Those absurdities he thus exposes :

It is agreed that Priscus with his wife Tanaquil came to Rome in the time of Ancus Martius.

Gellius places the arrival of Priscus in the first year of king Ancus; Licinius in the eighth : but both agree, that he was employed

as general of the horse to Ancus, in the ninth year of his reign: the arrival therefore of Priscus at Rome could not be later than the eighth of Ancus.

As Priscus, before he came to Rome, had aspired to dignities and high offices in his own country, he was doubtless twenty-five years old at least when he arrived: and as, after his arrival, Ancus reigned seventeen years and Priscus thirty-eight, Priscus was eighty when he died.

Tanaquil was probably five years younger than her husband, consequently seventy-five at the time of his death.

She cannot be supposed to have borne children after the age of fifty*.

Aruns, the brother of Superbus, was two years younger than he; consequently, if Superbus was the son of Tanaquil, she could not be more than forty-eight when she bore him. And if so, Superbus must have been at least twenty-seven when his father died, his mother being then seventy-five.

But if Superbus was twenty-seven, when his father Priscus died, then, as Servius Tullius, the successor of Priscus, reigned forty-four years, Superbus must have been seventy-one at the time of his own accession to the throne: and

* Mr. Bayle observes, that Dionysius, by making Brutus to be the son of Tarquinia a daughter of Tanaquil, has fallen into one of the absurdities he imputes to those who differ from him concerning the birth of Tarquin the Proud: for by his own way of reasoning, it will appear, that Tanaquil must have been fifty-four, when she bore that daughter.

as he reigned twenty-five years, he must have been ninety-six at the time of his dethronement. And as, after his dethronement, he maintained a war against the Romans fourteen years, he must have lived to the age of a hundred and ten.

Now, (says Dionysius) would Tanaquil (the wife of Priscus) had she been the mother of Superbus, have placed a stranger on the throne preferably to her own son, if her own son had been of an age to govern? A stranger, who was but three years older than her son? (For Servius Tullius was then but thirty.) Or would Superbus, a man of so much spirit, have quietly suffered it?

Can we believe that Superbus was seventy-one years old, when with so much strength and vigour he seized Servius Tullius by the waist, hurried him in his arms through the senate-house, and cast him headlong from the top of the steps at the entrance of it?

Or is it credible, that he was ninety-six years of age, when at the head of an army he performed all the functions of a general, as it is agreed he did, in the siege of Ardea, at the time of his dethronement?

Or, since it is agreed, that Superbus after his dethronement maintained a war against the Romans fourteen years, and was in every action of that war, can it be admitted that he was ninety-six when that war commenced? Could he possibly keep the field till he was a hundred and ten?

These things, says Dionysius, are incredi-

ble : and hence he concludes, that the second Tarquin was the grandson, and not the son of the first.

But, notwithstanding all the force of this reasoning, we do not find that Plutarch was convinced by it. He only tells us, that Superbus was either the son or grandson of Priscus, without declaring for either opinion.

And Livy, who, being no stranger to the reasons which determined Dionysius, says, the matter is not clear, yet declares that he adheres * to the opinion, that Superbus was the son of Priscus.

Now which way can we account for Livy's rejecting the conclusion in Dionysius's argument, but by supposing that he did not believe what he himself, as well as Dionysius, relates, namely, that Priscus reigned thirty-eight years, Servius Tullius forty-four, and Tarquin the Proud twenty-five? Indeed, as Livy does not say in what year of king Ancus Martius Priscus arrived at Rome, it is possible, he might, in his own mind, place that arrival some years later than Dionysius (following Licinius) has done; in which case, Superbus need not have been twenty-seven years old when his father died. Yet, since Livy represents Priscus so great a favourite of Ancus as to be by him left guardian of his children, the historian could not but allow a considerable

* Hic L. Tarquinius Prisci Tarquinii regis filius, neposne fuerit, parum liquet: pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderum. L. 1. c. 46.

time for Priscus to ingratiate himself with the king to that degree. Let us suppose, that Priscus came to Rome about six years only before the death of Ancus, the consequences will be, that Superbus was at least seventeen when he lost his father, eighty-six when de-throned, and near a hundred, at the battle of the Regillus, in which battle (according to Livy) he rode briskly up to attack the Roman general hand to hand.

“Is it not astonishing (says Mr. Bayle) that, considering the absurdities which attend the supposition that Superbus was the son of Priscus, Dionysius could find but one writer who makes him the grandson? This writer was Lucius Piso, whose opinion Dionysius has adopted. Livy had not the same discernment: he has chosen to follow the crowd of authorities, and thereby loaded himself with a heap of difficulties that dishonour his memory.”
Artic. Tanaquil. (F.)

This charge upon Livy of wanting discernment I apprehend to be entirely groundless. Supposing him to believe that the Roman chronology was true, he could not but be aware of the insuperable objections to his opinion concerning the birth of Superbus. But I take the case to be this. That Superbus was the son of Priscus is a simple fact, which could easily be preserved by tradition; much more easily than the ages of successive kings or the number of years they reigned. Tradition universally supported that simple fact, and there was nothing to bring the truth

of it in question, but such reasonings as Dionysius has employed, founded on the received but uncertain chronology of the regal state of Rome. Livy believed the fact, and did not believe the chronology; yet knowing that it would be unpopular and offensive, should he, in his history, lower the antiquity of the Roman state explicitly and expressly, he has avoided that, and at the same time, by declaring for the opinion, that Superbus was the son of Priscus, has discovered * to his attentive

* Virgil seems to have acted the like part in making Æneas and Dido contemporary. Without giving offence, he has covertly insinuated, that the reckonings of the chronologers were very erroneous. Mr. Rollin (*Hist. Anc.* vol. 1. p. 238. 242.) seems to admit that Carthage was built by Dido eight hundred and eighty-three years before the Christian æra and three hundred years after the fall of Troy, and the voyage of Æneas: and he supposes Virgil to have known himself guilty of a great anachronism, in bringing Æneas and Dido together; yet, with many others, he excuses the poet by the doctrine of poetic licence, “it being (he says) a great beauty, in the Æneid, to represent the implacable enmity between Rome and Carthage as taking its rise in the remotest origin of the two states.” But in reality, is Virgil more excusable, than a modern poet would be, who should imagine a war between Constantine the first Christian emperor, and Mahomet the founder of the Mussulman religion? Would any body pardon such a licence on account of any beauties whatsoever? Surely reason will carry us to believe, that Virgil knew he was not guilty of any considerable anachronism with regard to Æneas and Dido.

The Jesuits Catrou and Rouillé, who likewise take for granted, that Æneas and Dido lived at a great distance of time from each other, and that Virgil knew it, yet observe, that none of the critics who were contemporary with Virgil, or who lived after him, till Macrobius’s time, [in the end of

readers his disbelief of the chronology commonly received.

Nor is it only by relating facts, inconsistent with the truth of the common chronology, that he discovers his disregard to it, but by one of his reckonings. For in L. 1. c. 40. he speaks of the thirty-eighth year of Tarquinius Priscus as being almost a hundred years after the reign of Romulus, though by the common chronology it was a hundred and thirty-seven years after Romulus's death.

It is remarkable, that Livy does not tell us how long any one of the Roman kings lived ; nor does he mention the lengths either of the lives or reigns of the fourteen Latine kings who preceded them.

With regard to several of the kings of Rome, I should conjecture that the first annalists, who pretended to fix the number of years which each of them reigned, did, either through mistake or design, give the lengths of their lives for the lengths of their reigns. What has been already remarked concerning Romulus and Tullus Hostilius affords some ground for this conjecture ; and the history of Servius Tullius seems to favour it with regard to him ; or at least to furnish a very good argument for shortening the duration of his government.

the 4th century] ever charged him with any anachronism. And they farther observe that Cedrenus and several other historians have brought *Æneas* and *Dido* under the same roof.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Dionysius tells us in the very beginning of his history of Servius's reign, (and he plainly speaks of the beginning of this prince's reign) that the patricians being much dissatisfied to find, that Servius having taken the reins of government into his hands only as a regent, intended to hold them as a king, came to this resolution ; that the very first time he assembled the senate, they would oblige him to lay down the fasces and all the other ensigns of royalty, and would choose inter-kings, in order to proceed to a legal election of a successor to Tarquin : that Servius being apprised of their design, applied himself to gain the people, to support him ; and, that to this end, having assembled the people, he promised, among other benefits, to ease them with regard to the public taxes by assessing every one in proportion to his substance, it being unreasonable (as he said) that the poor should contribute equally with the rich to the expenses of the state. Servius, in consequence of his promise, when they had chosen him king, and he had made some previous regulations, instituted the census, dividing the citizens into classes and centuries, &c. by which institution the burden of the taxes was thrown all upon the great and the rich.

As the senate obstinately refused to confirm the people's choice of Servius to be king, and as Servius depended wholly on the people's

affections for the preservation of his authority, is it reasonable to suppose, that he put twenty-four years distance between so important a promise and the performance? Now if the census, which was to be renewed every five years, and always to be closed by a lustrum, was instituted in the beginning of Servius Tullius's reign, how came it to pass that there were no more than four lustra during the forty-four years of this prince's administration? That this was the number of lustra in Servius's time, Pighius (p. 48.) says, may be collected from the Capitoline marbles; and we have also Val. Maximus's authority for it, B. 4. Would Servius neglect the observance of his own institution? An institution that was his masterpiece of policy, and his chief glory? To have four lustra in his reign required strictly but sixteen years, the first lustrum being at the time of the institution; and should we suppose that he was killed just before a new census should have been taken, still the four lustra could demand but twenty years. And this therefore is as long a space of time as can reasonably be allowed for his reign.

It must be confessed, that Livy, in his account of Servius Tullius, differs considerably from Dionysius, and, upon the whole, is more consistent, and more worthy of credit*.

* The ingenious author of *The Dissertation on the Uncertainty of the Roman History* has with great judgment compared the differing accounts given by the two historians of Servius's reign; and has clearly shewn, that Livy's is the more credible, not only with regard to the disposition of the

M. de
Beaufort.

The Latine historian reports, that Servius took the crown with the consent of the fathers.

senate toward the king at the time of his accession, but with regard to that plan of republican government, which the king had formed some time before he died. Dionysius would have us believe, that the senators combined with Tarquin the Proud to destroy Servius, because this latter intended to change the government into a democracy. Now it is manifest from the king's own establishments, that he preferred aristocratical government to democratical. And therefore what Livy reports is highly credible, that the meditated change regarded only the monarchy. *Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium, tamen quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt.* (l. 1. c. 48.) The same historian relates, that when two annual consuls were first created to govern the state, this creation was according to the plan of Servius Tullius. *Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis à præfecto urbis ex commentariis Servii Tullii creati sunt.* (l. 1. c. 60.) What was it then that induced the senators to side with Tarquin, since Servius's new plan of government was so favourable to their ambition? Livy has answered this question. They were dissatisfied with the division which the king had made of the public lands among the people. For though he did not think it expedient that the lower sort should govern, yet he thought it reasonable they should live free, and be made easy in their inferiority; whereas it was the constant policy of the nobles of Rome to keep the commons in indigence, and of course in a slavish dependence. Tarquin seized the favourable opportunity of the senate's fit of anger, suddenly to perpetrate the murder of Servius and seat himself in the throne. Yet we find, that the usurper, when he had got power in his hands, and when the anger of the senate against Servius was subsided, would not trust to their good will to support him in possession: he would not put his crown to the hazard of an election. He did not seek to be elected king by the senate more than by the people. Supported by foreign troops, he deprived both orders of their privileges, cruelly oppressed the nobles, but soothed the plebeians, (as more to be dreaded on account of their greater strength) by his liberalities, and

And if we consider, that, by the institution of the census, and the *centuriate comitia*, the king threw all the power of the general assemblies into the hands of the nobles, it is not very probable, that the nobles were his enemies. It seems more probable, that when he possessed himself of the throne, he did it in concert with the senators, and that he engaged them to support him by letting them into the secret of his intentions.

Be this as it will, it was absolutely necessary that Servius, in order to a quiet possession, should conciliate to him by some speedy measures both senate and people. And this we find he did by his new regulation of the government, pleasing the ambition of the nobles, and relieving the indigence of the plebeians. His situation, I say, required that his measures to gain the hearts of his subjects should be speedy; and therefore it is not to be questioned, but his institution of the census,

by sharing among them the rich spoils acquired in war. See Hist. p. 226. The nobles languished after that liberty and authority of which Servius had given them a taste; and the shocking atrocious deed of Sextus Tarquinius, which awakened the people, and made them thoroughly feel the slavery they were in, furnished the nobles with an opportunity of drawing them at once into measures for recovering the common freedom. This seems to be the true state of things with regard to Tarquin and the revolution. And the quick settlement of the new government, without any opposition, sufficiently indicates, that Brutus and his associates went upon a plan already formed, and to which the chief men of the plebeians were no strangers, namely, that of Servius Tullius.

and his division of the citizens into classes and centuries, &c. were in the beginning of his reign. And, if so, I ask again, how came it to pass, that there were no more than four lustra in forty-four years? It is against all reason to suppose, that the king neglected an institution of his own invention, and which, giving satisfaction to both orders in the state, gained him their esteem and affection, and established his authority.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

As to the twenty-five years which this king is said to have reigned, I shall only observe, that if his reign was really of that length (which does not seem improbable, since he began and finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the famous common sewers) it aids the argument against the long reign of Servius Tullius. For if Servius reigned forty-four years, and Superbus twenty-five, the latter, let him be the grandson of Priscus, as Dionysius will have it, could not be far from ninety years of age, at the battle near the lake Regillus, fourteen years after his dethronement, since he was some years old at the death of Priscus: and, accordingly, the Greek historian gives him that age, and infers from it, that Gellius and Licinius (whom Livy has followed) and all the other historians, who say, that Superbus fought on horseback in that battle, are not to be credited, because a man ninety years old could not fight on horseback. Now surely the juster

way of reasoning would have been this: Tradition and history, uncontradicted, tell us that Superbus fought on horseback in the battle near the Regillus; therefore he could not be then ninety years of age: but, according to the common chronology, which gives forty-four years to the reign of Servius Tullius, and twenty-five to that of Superbus, the latter was ninety years old at that battle; consequently the common chronology is false.

It appears, that Dionysius (a critic by profession) had laid it down as a fundamental principle, that the received chronology of the regal state of Rome was true and exact; and therefore, let a fact be never so well attested, he rejects it, if he cannot make it square with that chronology.

Tradition and history said, that Superbus was the son of Priscus; that Superbus fought on horseback at the battle of Regillus; that Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia) was the son of Egerius (nephew of the elder Tarquin). No, says Dionysius, none of these things can be true; for they are not consistent with the long reigns of the kings. He produces no authority against the facts; nor does he know who was the father of Superbus, or the father of Collatinus; but he reasons from the received chronology, and concludes, contrary to all historical testimony, that Superbus was not the son, but the grandson of Priscus; that he did not fight on horseback at the above-mentioned battle; and that Collatinus was not the son, but the grandson of Egerius.

Livy, on the other hand, though he durst not openly contradict the received chronology, seems to have been fully persuaded, that it was not so well vouched, as many historical facts, that were incompatible with it. He therefore adheres to the facts, and leaves it to such notable critics as Dionysius to reconcile them with the chronology as well as they can.

As I have ventured thus far in an attempt to support Sir Isaac Newton's opinion concerning the duration of the regal state of Rome, it seems fit, that before I quit the subject I should take some notice of what the learned Dr. Shuckford has said in answer to Sir Isaac Newton's arguments, and in defence of the old chronology.

In the preface to the second volume of his *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, he writes thus :

P. xix.

“ Our great and learned author remarks, that the seven kings of Rome who preceded the consuls reigned one with another thirty-five years a-piece. I am sensible that it may be observed, that the reigns of these kings not falling within the times I am to treat of, I am not concerned to vindicate the accounts that are given of them ; but I would not entirely omit mentioning them, because the lengths of their reigns may be thought an undeniable instance of the inaccuracy of the ancient computations, more especially because these kings were all more modern than the times of David ; for supposing Rome to be built by Romu-

lus, A. M. 3256, [Usher's Annals] we must begin Romulus's reign three hundred years after the death of David, and the lives of men in these times being reduced to what has been esteemed the common standard ever since, it may perhaps be expected, that the reigns of those kings should not be longer, one with another, than the reigns of our kings of England, from William the Conqueror; or of the kings of France, from Pharamond; or of any other series of kings mentioned by our illustrious author: but here I would observe, that these seven kings of Rome were not descendants of one another. Plutarch remarks of these kings, that not one of them left his crown to his son. Two of them, namely, Ancus Martius, and Tarquinius Superbus, were descendants from the sons of former kings, but the other five were of different families.

“The successors of Romulus were elected to the crown, and the Roman people did not confine their choice even to their own country, but chose such as were most likely to promote the public good. It is evident therefore, that the lengths of these kings reigns ought not to be estimated according to the common measure of successive monarchs, &c.

“I might remark farther that there were interregna between the reigns of several of them. —Each of these interregna might perhaps take up some years. The historians allot no space of time to these interregna, but it is known to be no unusual thing for writers to begin the reign of a succeeding king from the death of

his predecessor, though he did not immediately succeed to his crown."

We see here that the learned writer, to get rid of the objection, drawn from the course of nature, against the long reigns of the seven Roman kings, suggests two considerations by which we may account for them.

I. He observes that the Roman kings were elected. Very true; but it is likewise true, that reigns will naturally be shorter in elective monarchies than in hereditary. And I observe, that this circumstance of election serves our learned writer to account for short reigns when he has occasion so to do. For when he would account for the short reigns of the first kings of Egypt, he has recourse to election.

P. xix.

"The first twelve kings of the Egyptian kingdoms, according to Sir John Marsham's tables, did not reign full so long," [as the first twelve kings of Assyria, i. e. not full forty years a-piece]. "But it must be remembered, that in the first times the kings of Egypt were frequently elected; and so, many times, sons did not succeed their fathers."

According to Sir John Marsham's tables, the first twelve kings of no one of the Egyptian kingdoms reigned thirty-four years a-piece one with another. And yet these Egyptian kings are supposed to have reigned, when men lived to the ages of four hundred, three hundred, two hundred. But, as the learned writer supposes that the Romans were induced by the circumstances of their affairs to elect men, who were in the prime of life, to be

their kings, which accounts for the great length of their reigns; so doubtless he supposes, that the Egyptians, on account of the circumstances of their affairs, elected old men to be their kings, men of about three hundred, two hundred, or a hundred and eighty years old, by which supposition the whole difficulty arising from the short reigns of the first kings of Egypt is removed. P. xxi.

I must here observe, that the learned writer thinks it very reasonable to believe, that the eight first kings of Edom, who reigned between the times of Moses and Saul, might reign above forty-eight years a-piece, one with another, [as they are represented to have done] “because it suits very well with the length of men’s lives in those times.” Now in those times, the lives of men were not half so long as in the times of the first Egyptian kings, who by the tables did not reign thirty-four years a-piece, one with another. And the difficulty which arises from the comparison will not be solved by the supposed election of the Egyptian kings to the throne; because it is pretty evident, that the eight first kings of Edom were elected, not one of them being the son or brother of his predecessor. Vol. 2. p. 172.

To return to the kings of Rome: the learned writer observes,

II. That, “between the reigns of several of the Roman kings, there were interregna, and that each of these interregna might perhaps take up some years, and that the historians allot no space of time to these interregna.” Gen. xxxvj.

Now Livy tells us expressly, that the interregnum which * followed the death of Romulus was of one year, and the reason he gives for its being then terminated, was the jealousy of the people, who apprehended an intention in the senate to reduce the government to an aristocracy; a reason which would naturally operate with like force in all future interregna.

Upon the death of Numa, the same historian † relates that there was an interregnum, and that then Tullus Hostilius was chosen king, but says nothing to make us think that the interregnum lasted longer than was necessary for the ceremony of the election.

After the death of Tullus Hostilius it would seem by Livy's ‡ words, that there was but one interrex before a successor to the crown was chosen.

After the death of Ancus Martius we are told by the same § historian, that Tarquin, who was left guardian to the sons of Ancus, brought on the election of a successor with all expedition, and got himself chosen king.

* Annum intervallum regni fuit. L. 1. c. 17.

† Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium—Regem populus jussit. C. 22.

‡ Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Martium regem populus creavit. C. 32.

§ Jam filii [Anci] prope puberem ætatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. C. 35.

After the death of Tarquin there was no interregnum. Nor after the death of Servius Tullius.

N. B. The learned writer takes no notice that most of the seven kings of Rome were slain, and one deposed.

As the learned writer, though the Roman kings did not fall within the times he was to treat of, judged it proper nevertheless to take notice of what Sir Isaac Newton has remarked concerning those kings, “ Because the lengths of their reigns might be thought an undeniable instance of the inaccuracy of the ancient computations,” perhaps I may be excused, if, for a like prudential reason, I take notice of some things which the learned writer has said in support of the ancient computations, with regard to the kingdoms of Egypt, Sicyon and Argos. For though these computations may be true, and that concerning the duration of the regal state of Rome be nevertheless false; yet if it appears that the former cannot be supported with any shew of argument, this will certainly go a great way towards discrediting the latter, as it will give ground to suspect that the profane chronology regarding the most ancient times has been all conjectural and technical. P. xx.

“ The catalogues of kings (says Dr. Shuckford) which our great and learned author produces to confirm his opinion, are all of later date, some of them many ages later than the times of David. P. xvi.

P. xvii.

“ It cannot be inferred from these reigns of kings mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton, that kings did not reign one with another, a much longer space of time in the ages which I am concerned with, in which men generally lived to a much greater age, than in the times out of which Sir Isaac Newton has taken the catalogues of kings which he has produced.

P. xviii.

“ From Abraham down almost to David men lived, according to the scripture accounts of the lengths of their lives, to I think at a medium above a hundred years, exceeding that time very much in the times near Abraham, and seldom falling short of it, until within a generation or two of David; but in David’s time the length of human life was, at a medium, but seventy years: now any one that considers this difference, must see, that the lengths of kings reigns, as well as of generations, must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come on slower in the early ages according to the greater length of men’s lives.

“ I am sensible I could produce many catalogues of successions from father to son, to confirm what I have offered; but since there is one which takes in almost the whole compass of the times which I am concerned in, and which has all the weight that the authority of the sacred writers can give it, and which will bring the point in question to a clear and indisputable conclusion, I shall for brevity’s sake omit all others, and offer only that to the reader’s farther examination. From Abraham to David

(including both Abraham and David) were fourteen generations: now from Abraham's birth A. M. 2008 * to David's death about A. M. 2986 † are nine hundred and seventy-eight years, so that generations in these times took up one with another near seventy years a-piece, i. e. they were above double the length which Sir Isaac Newton computes them, and which they were (I believe) after the times of David. We must therefore suppose the reigns of kings in these ancient times to be longer than his computation in the same proportion, and, if so, we must calculate them at above forty years a-piece one with another; and so the profane historians have recorded them to be: for according to the lists we have from Castor of the ancient kings of Sicyon and Argos, the first twelve kings of Sicyon reigned more than forty-four years a-piece one with another, and the first eight kings of Argos something above forty-six, as our great author has remarked.

“ But the reigns of the first twelve kings of Sicyon extended * from A. M. 1920 to A. M. 2450, so that they began eighty-eight years before the birth of Abraham, and ended in the times of Moses.

* By this reckoning the reigns of the twelve kings took up five hundred and thirty years. But Dr. Shuckford, Vol. II. p. 41, gives only thirty-eight years a-piece to the first six kings, the whole time two hundred and twenty-eight years: so that the second six must have reigned above fifty years a-piece one with another, the whole time three hundred and two years.

* Ant. Chr.
1996.

† Ant. Chr.
1018.

“ And the reigns of the first eight kings of Argos began A. M. 2154, ended A. M. 2525, so that they reached from the latter end of Abraham’s life to a few years after the exit of the Israelites out of Egypt.

“ And let any one form a just computation of the length of men’s lives in these times, and it will in no wise appear unreasonable to imagine, that the reigns of kings were of this length in these days.

P. xix.

“ I might observe, that the ancient accounts of the kings of different kingdoms in these times agree to one another, as well as our great author’s more modern catalogues, &c.”

I. We see here, that the learned writer would have it granted him, and reasons all along upon the supposition that it will be granted him, that the first named kings of Sicyon and Argos in the old catalogues reigned in the times he is concerned with, that is, in the times of longevity: and he seems not to be aware, that this is begging * the very question in dispute, and that while he begs the question he furnishes reasons to reject his petition. He very justly

Pref. p. xv.

advances, “ That the difference there has been in the common length of human life in the different ages of the world, must have had a considerable effect upon the length of both reigns and generations, both which must be longer or shorter in this or that age, in some measure, according to what is the common standard of the length of men’s lives in the

* Mr. Whiston has made the same *petitio principii*.

age they belong to." But this undoubted truth furnishes an argument irresistible against the long reigns of the kings in the catalogues above-mentioned.

Sir Isaac Newton has never said, that twelve kings of Sicyon, of whom the first began to reign in A. M. 1920. (Ant. Chr. 2084.) might not reign forty-four years a-piece one with another: or that eight kings of Argos, of whom the first began to reign A. M. 2154. (Ant. Chr. 1850) might not reign forty-six years a-piece: but all his reasonings tend to prove, that the kingdoms, said to have commenced at those periods, did not then commence; that Ægialeus did not begin to reign in A. M. 1920, nor Inachus in 2154, but many centuries after those dates, and in the times of short life.

As to Ægialeus, Sir Isaac Newton has sufficiently shewn by authorities, that he was the son of Inachus and brother of Phoroneus, who is counted the second king of Argos: the beginning of which kingdom was consequently prior to that of Sicyon. And he has likewise shewn it to be highly probable, that Apis the fourth king of Sicyon, and Epopeus the seventeenth king in the catalogue, were one and the same person, and that the twelve kings, inserted between those two names, were imaginary. The judicious Mr. Stanyan, in his Grecian History, seems much disposed to adopt this opinion. And even Mr. Whiston confesses (p. 983.) that "the series of kings of Sicyon is more suspected by the learned, than

P. 169, 170.

almost any that pretends to be very ancient; and that there are not wanting some plausible arguments against it."

I shall therefore take no further notice of the Sicyonian kings, but apply Sir Isaac Newton's method of reasoning from the course of nature, to the succession of kings at Argos, of whom the eight first are said to have reigned above forty-six years a-piece one with another.

It is held by some learned men, that the life of man became reduced to the present standard in the time of Moses; others defer it to within a generation or two of David.

Moses at eighty years of age came out of Egypt in the year - - - Ant. Chr. 1491.

David died, at about seventy years of age, A. M. 2986, Ant. Chr. 1018. He was therefore born about - - - - - Ant. Chr. 1087.

The time between the Exodus and the birth of David is four hundred and four years.

Let us take the middle number 202, and add it to 1087, and this will carry us back to - - - - - Ant. Chr. 1289.

During these twelve hundred and eighty-nine years, preceding the Christian æra, we are authorised by Sir Isaac's catalogues to compute (when there is no certainty) the reigns of any considerable number of kings in succession at about twenty years a-piece one with another.

Let us then accept Sir Isaac's allowance of three hundred and forty years (instead of six hundred and twenty-two) for the reigns of the seventeen kings, ending with Leonidas, who was slain in the year Ant. Chr. 480.

If to these four hundred and eighty years we add the three hundred and forty, this will carry us back to the year 820 Ant. Chr. the time of the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, and the beginning of the reign of Eurysthenes the first of the seventeen kings of Sparta of that race.

It is generally admitted, that the beginning of the reign of Eurysthenes (who rejected * Tisamenus the son of Orestes and grandson of Agamemnon) was eighty years after the fall of Troy. These eighty years being added to the eight hundred and twenty, we are got to the year 900 before Christ, the year when Troy was taken.

Agamemnon king of Mycenæ (who was slain just upon his return from Troy) is given us for the nineteenth king in succession from Inachus, the first king of Argos, (Perseus the fifteenth king of Argos having removed the regal seat from Argos to Mycenæ.)

Now supposing all these nineteen kings in succession to have really † existed, yet if we

* N. B. Tisamenus was king of Argos, Mycenæ, and Sparta, when the Heraclides dethroned him.

† Mr. Stanyan mentions the following kings of Argos, said to have reigned in succession.

Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argus, Criasus, Phorbas, Iasus,

allow them but twenty years a-piece one with another (and there is no reason to allow them more, for we are not yet got to the times of longevity) the sum will be three hundred and eighty, which being added to nine hundred, carries us back to the year 1280 before Christ, about which time we have supposed the life of man to have been first reduced to the present standard. And this brings down the com-

Crotopus. But as to Apis, he tells us (p. 19.) it is not generally assented to, that there was such a king of Argos. And in p. 22, he has these words: "As Iasus is not generally reckoned in the number of these kings, so it is doubted whether Phorbas and his son Triopas ought not to be excluded, it being said that they fled from Argos to the island of Rhodes: and the same doubt has been raised concerning Crotopus, because he is likewise said to have left Argos and to have built a new city for himself in Megaris."

I observe that Sir Isaac Newton (p. 170.), by placing the beginning of the reign of Phoroneus, the second king of Argos, about the twelfth of Samuel, or Ant. Chr. 1088, supposes that at least eight or nine of the kings in the Argive catalogue were fictitious. In p. 172, he has these words: "Acusilaus wrote, that Phoroneus was older than Ogyges, and that Ogyges flourished a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad."—But Acusilaus was an Argive, and feigned these things in honour of his country.—Inachus might be as old as Ogyges, but Acusilaus and his followers made them seven hundred years older than "the truth; and chronologers, to make out this reckoning, have lengthened the races of the kings of Argos and Sicyon, and changed several contemporary princes of Argos into successive kings, and inserted many feigned kings into the race of the kings of Sicyon." If Sir Isaac Newton had not cut off eight or nine of the kings of Argos, he could not have placed Phoroneus so late as 1088 by his own method of computation.

mencement of the kingdom of Argos five hundred and seventy years later than where it is placed by the old chronology.

But as we have here supposed, what perhaps many persons will not grant, that the life of man was brought to the present standard two hundred and two years before the birth of David, let us fix the date of this abbreviation of human life at only forty years before David's birth, and then it will be in the year before Christ 1127. This is I think as low a date as any body contends for; at least Dr. Shuckford will be content with it.

Of the nineteen kings it will require eleven, at about twenty years and a half a-piece, to carry us up from the death of Agamemnon (which, by the foregoing computation, happened about the year before Christ 900) to the fortieth year before David's birth, Ant. Chr. 1127: and consequently, if we will adhere to the pretended date of the commencement of the kingdom of Argos, viz. Ant. Chr. 1850 (or A. M. 2154) we must suppose the eight first kings to have reigned above ninety years a-piece one with another, and their reigns to have taken up seven hundred and twenty-three years; for this is the number that must be added to eleven hundred and twenty-seven to make eighteen hundred and fifty.

But if the eight first kings of Argos reigned ninety years a-piece one with another, what the learned writer advances in the following passage concerning monuments, stone-pillars, and inscriptions, can have no foundation.

Pref. p. liv.

“As to our illustrious author’s argument from the length of reigns: I might have observed that it is introduced upon a supposition which can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient chronologers did not give us the several reigns of their kings as they took them from authentic records, but that they made the lengths of them by artificial computations, calculated according to what they thought the reigns of such a number of kings as they had to set down, would at a medium one with another amount to: this certainly never was fact; but as Acusilaus, a most ancient historian mentioned by our most illustrious author, wrote his genealogies out of tables of brass, so it is by far most probable that all the other genealogists who have given us the lengths of lives or reigns of their kings or heroes, took their accounts either from monuments, stone-pillars, or ancient inscriptions, or from other antiquaries of unsuspected fidelity, who had faithfully examined such originals.”

To this I further answer,

I. If these genealogists were so faithful and had such good vouchers, whence came “those repugnances in their chronological canons (mentioned by Plutarch) which hundreds of authors correcting have not been able to constitute any thing certain in which they could agree?” For instance, how came *Ægialeus*, king of *Sicyon*, to be, according to some chronologers, two hundred and thirty-four years, and, according to others, above five hundred

years older than Phoroneus king of Argos, when "Acusilaus, Anticlides, and Plato accounted Phoroneus the oldest king in Greece; and Apollodorus tells us, Ægialeus was the brother of Phoroneus?"

See Sir I.
N. Chron.
p. 169.

II. Dr. Shuckford, in another part of his work, seems to admit that the ancients made use of an artificial chronology; as appears by the following passage, vol. I. p. 207.

1. "He [Sir John Marsham] observes from Diodorus, that Menes was succeeded by fifty-two kings whose reigns altogether took up the space of above fourteen hundred years. In all which time the Ægyptians had done nothing worth the recording in history.

2. "He supposes these fourteen hundred years to end at Sesostris; for Herodotus is express that the first illustrious actions were done in Egypt in the time of Sesostris; before Sesostris, says he, they had done nothing famous; and Diodorus says that Sesostris performed the most illustrious actions far exceeding all before him.

3. "He supposes, with Josephus, that this Sesostris was Sesac who besieged Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, king of Judah, about A. M. 3033.

"The only difficulty in this argumentation will be, that it places Menes or Mizraim above a century earlier than his true age; for if we reckon backward fourteen hundred years, from the year before named [3033] in which Sesac besieged Jerusalem, we shall place Mizraim A. M. 4633, i. e. twenty-three

years before the flood, and a hundred and thirty-nine years earlier than the true time of his reign, which began A. M. 1772; but this difficulty may be easily cleared: the number fourteen hundred years is a mistake: Diodorus says expressly, that there were but fifty-two kings* from Menes to the time where Sesostris's reign is supposed to begin; and according to Sir John Marsham's tables of the Theban kings, from Menes to Sesostris is but thirteen hundred and seventy years, though we suppose Sesostris the fifty-fifth king from Menes, and even this number is too great, if, as Diodorus computes, there were fifty-two kings only.

“The ancients generally allowed about thirty-six years and a half to the reign of a king [when they made use of an artificial chronology] and therefore if we deduct three times thirty-six years and a half, or about a hundred and ten years from thirteen hundred and seventy (the number of years between Menes and Sesostris, according to Sir John Marsham's tables) I say, if we deduct three times thirty-six years and a half, or about a hundred and ten years (supposing those tables to have the names of three kings too many, the number of kings

* “According to Diodorus, Sesostris was about eighty successions after Menes or Mizraim. Diodorus must indeed have made a mistake in this computation, for from the death of Menes A. M. 1943 to Sesac about A. M. 3033 are but a thousand and ninety years, and fifty-five successions may very well carry us down thus far, &c.” Pref. p. xxxi. Vol. II.

being, according to Diodorus, fifty-two, and not fifty-five), we shall then make the space of time between Menes and Sesostris about twelve hundred and sixty years; and so it really is according to the Hebrew chronology, Menes beginning his reign, as we before said, Anno mundi 1772; and Sesostris or Sesac besieging Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Anno mundi 3033."

I cannot but observe here, that the learned writer, who in imitation of the ancients makes use of an artificial chronology, has in the present instance employed it somewhat unluckily; for supposing he might have allowed a hundred and ten years to three reigns in any other succession of ancient kings, he has no right to make that allowance here, where the reigns of the fifty-two kings filling only twelve hundred and sixty years, they could reign but about twenty-four years a-piece one with another. And indeed the shortness of these reigns furnishes a good argument against that catalogue of fifty-two kings, (as well as Diodorus's eighty kings) and against the learned writer's opinion concerning the ancient chronologers, that they took their successions of kings, and the numbers of years which each of them reigned, from authentic records.

For is it not highly incredible that fifty-two Egyptian kings beginning with Mizraim, and reaching through the times of longevity from A. M. 1772 to 3033, should reign but three or four years a-piece one with another longer than the like number of successive kings in

modern kingdoms? A consideration that seems sufficient to overthrow all imaginary tables of brass, stone-pillars, monuments, inscriptions, &c. recording the succession of those fifty-two kings or fifty-five kings between Mizraim and Sesostris*.

Or, if it be credible that the reigns of fifty-two kings of Egypt in succession from Mizraim took up but twelve hundred and sixty years, is it not improbable that the reigns of thirty-nine † kings in succession, from Inachus, took up thirteen hundred and seventy years; that if the former kings reigned but about twenty-four years a-piece one with another, the latter should reign thirty-five; especially if we consider that the reign of Mizraim is supposed to have begun three hundred and eighty-two years before the reign of Inachus, and but a hundred and sixteen years after the flood?

Arphaxad was coeval with Mizraim. Now had Arphaxad established a kingdom A. M. 1772, and the crown had gone in lineal descent, it is probable, there would not have been more than fifteen kings in twelve hundred and sixty years, i. e. from the beginning of Arphaxad's reign to the time of Sesostris, who was contemporary with Solomon. For from Arphaxad to Solomon (both included)

Ant. Chr.
2232.

* See in p. xxxii. the citation from Mr. Whiston.

† The nineteen kings ending with Agamemnon, the three between Agamemnon and Eurysthenes, and the seventeen beginning with Eurysthenes and ending with Leonidas, make up the thirty-nine. They reign from Ant. Chr. 1850. to Ant. Chr. 480.

there were but twenty-three generations: and, during the first nine generations, there would have been but three kings, Arphaxad, Salah, and Eber: for Eber outlived Abraham, the seventh in descent from him.

And it is to be observed, that these three reigns would have taken up four hundred and fifteen years, (there being from A. M. 1772 to A. M. 2187, the year when Eber died, exactly that number) whereas in no series of Egyptian reigns in Sir John Marsham's tables, do the twelve first take up more than four hundred and seven years.

And as to the fourteen generations, beginning with Isaac and ending with Solomon, it is probable, they would not have furnished more than twelve kings: for while the life of man was shortening from a hundred and eighty years to seventy, fathers would frequently outlive their sons, and the reigns would be fewer than the generations.

But supposing a king for each of the fourteen generations from Isaac to Solomon, (both included) the whole number of kings in twelve hundred and sixty years from Arphaxad to Solomon would have been but seventeen.

That the reigns of fifty-two kings in succession from Mizraim should take up no longer a space of time than twenty-three generations from Arphaxad, has surely at first sight an appearance of improbability. How far the difficulty may be solved by the suppositions of election, rebellion, and king-killing, I shall leave to the reader to consider.

But in the passage above cited (from pref. p. xix.) the learned writer, to support the credit of the old chronologers, observes farther, that “the ancient accounts of the kings of different kingdoms agree to one another as well as Sir Isaac Newton’s more modern catalogues.”

Yes, in some instances, they agree so well, as by their agreement to discover their technical original. For the twenty-two first kings of Thebes, in Sir John Marsham’s tables, take up but six hundred and seventy-six years, and the twenty-one kings of Alba and Rome take up just the same number, though the first are supposed to have reigned in the times when men lived to the ages of four hundred, three hundred, two hundred, a hundred and twenty, and the other when the life of man was shortened to seventy years.

So, in the times of short life, the twelve kings of Macedonia, from Caranus to Archelaus, reign thirty-four years and a half a-piece. And the eight last of the Latine kings, from Amulius to Tarquin the Proud, reign thirty-five and three quarters.

And in the times of long life, the twelve first kings of Assyria reign about forty years a-piece one with another.

How can these things be made to square with that principle, laid down by the learned writer (Pref. p. xv.) that “the difference there has been in the common length of human life, in the different ages of the world, must have had a considerable effect upon the length of

reigns, which must be longer or shorter in this or that age in some measure, according to what is the common standard of the length of men's lives in the age they belong to?"

I should think that the great mistake of the annalists who wrote of the first ages after the flood is not in allowing so many as a hundred or a hundred and twenty years to three reigns, but in not allowing more *. They seem to have known nothing of the fact, that men's lives extended to so great a length, during some centuries after the flood, as they are represented to do in Scripture: for had they known this, surely they would never have made their accounts of king's reigns in the earlier and later ages agree so well together.

As to the long argumentation which the learned writer has employed in support of Ctesias's chronology of the Assyrian monarchs, against Sir Isaac Newton's objections, I shall not enter into any consideration of it; because to my apprehension the learned writer does not seem to be quite satisfied with it himself; nor to have a very advantageous

Pref. p. xxii.
to p. liii.

* The fourteen first Egyptian kings of Thebes are said to have reigned four hundred and fourteen years, i. e. from A. M. 1772 to 2186, or till three years after the death of Abraham, (who died at the age of a hundred and seventy-five) and though they lived in these times of longevity, yet they reigned but twenty-nine years some months a-piece; they are not made to reign so long as the fourteen Latine kings, after the fall of Troy, which is supposed to have happened A. M. 2820, six hundred and thirty-four years after the last of the fourteen Egyptian kings.

Pref. p. lii. opinion of Ctesias. “ We find (says he) from Scripture, that after Abraham’s defeating his armies” [the armies of Chederlaomer] “ the Assyrian kings appear not to have had any dominion over the nations between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates: this indeed seems to confine the Assyrian empire within narrower bounds than can well agree with the accounts which the heathen writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that these enlarged accounts come from hands comparatively modern. Diodorus informs us, that he took his from Ctesias; Ctesias might have the number of his ancient Assyrian kings from the Persian chronicles; but as all writers have agreed to ascribe no great actions to any of them, from after Ninus to Sardanapalus; so it appears most reasonable to imagine, that the Persian registries made but a very short mention of them,” [probably none at all;] “ for ancient registries afforded but little history, and therefore I suspect, that Ctesias’s estimate of the ancient Assyrian grandeur was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the Persian empire, than taken from any authentic accounts of the ancient Assyrian.”

And Mr. Whiston says (p. 980.) “ I desire not to be misunderstood in this place as if I believed all the strange stories of Ctesias either as to the beginning or ending of this Assyrian kingdom. I do not depend upon such legendary relations. I have not here set down the several years which each of these

kings [in all thirty-two from Belus to Sardanapalus out of Moses Chorenensis] reigned, because it must be acknowledged that the copies differ much about them: and I suspect several mistakes in those particular numbers of successions and of years, though the general sum of the years, within a little more than a century, is well attested by the ancients.”

Nor shall I meddle with Sir Isaac Newton's astronomical argument for fixing the time of the Argonautic expedition, (and of course the time of the fall of Troy, which was only one generation later) from the position of the solstitial and equinoctial points on the sphere which Chiron made for the use of the Argonauts. I am too little acquainted with the science of astronomy to speak pertinently on the subject. I shall only observe that Mr. Whiston does not agree with Dr. Shuckford concerning the grounds of the argument.

“ The fallacy of this argument (says Dr. Shuckford) cannot but appear very evident to any one that attends to it: for suppose we allow that Chiron did really place the solstices, as Sir Isaac Newton represents, (though I should think it most probable that he did not so place them) yet it must be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly established from Chiron's position of them, unless it appears, that Chiron knew how to give them their true place. Pref. p. iii.

—“ If indeed it could be known what was the true place of the solstitial points in Chiron's time, it might be known, by taking the P. vi.

distance of that place from the present position of them, how much time was elapsed from Chiron to our days.

“ But I answer, it cannot be accurately known from any schemes of Chiron what was the true place of the solstices in his days; because, though it is said that he calculated the then position of them, yet he was so inaccurate an astronomer, that his calculation might err four or five degrees from their true position.”

Mr. Whiston (p. 991.) writes thus :

“ As to the first argument from the place of the two colures in Eudoxus from Chiron the Argonaut, preserved by Hipparchus of Bithynia, I readily allow its foundation to be true, that Eudoxus’s sphere was the same with Chiron’s, and that it was first made and shewed Hercules and the rest of the Argonauts in order to guide them in their voyage to Colchis. And I take the discovery of this sure astronomical criterion of the true time of that Argonautic expedition (in the defect of eclipses) to be highly worthy the uncommon sagacity of the great Sir Isaac Newton, and in its own nature a chronological character truly inestimable. Nor need we, I think, any stronger argument in order to overturn Sir Isaac Newton’s own chronology than this position of the colures at the time of that expedition, which its proposer has very kindly furnished us withal.”

In p. 996: “ I now proceed to Eudoxus’s accurate description of the position of the two

colures as they had been drawn on their celestial globes, ever since the days of Chiron, at the Argonautic expedition, and as Hipparchus has given us that description in the words of Eudoxus."

Again (p. 1002.) "Sir Isaac Newton betrays his consciousness how little Eudoxus's description of Chiron's colures agreed to his position of them, by pretending that these observations of the ancients were coarse and inaccurate. This is true if compared with the observations of the moderns which reach to minutes; and, since the application of telescopic sights to astronomical instruments, to ten or fewer seconds. But as to our present purpose this description in Eudoxus is very accurate, it both taking notice of every constellation, through which each of the colures passed, that were visible in Greece: and hardly admitting of an error of half a degree in angular measures, or thirty-six years in time. Which is sufficiently exact."

How far Mr. Whiston has succeeded in his argumentation about the neck of the Swan and the tail of the Bear, &c. I must leave to others to consider. I shall only observe, with regard to the last paragraph cited from his discourse, that when Sir Isaac Newton calls the observations of the ancient astronomers coarse, he cannot well be understood to use that word, but in a comparative sense, that sense in which Mr. Whiston admits it may be justly used. For otherwise Sir Isaac would not have inferred any thing, as certain, from

those ancient observations. Now, in p. 95, after he has finished his argument from Chiron's sphere, he thus writes :

“ Hesiod tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice, the star Arcturus rose at sunset: and thence it follows, that Hesiod flourished about a hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the generation or age next after the Trojan war, as Hesiod himself declares.

“ From all these circumstances, grounded upon the coarse observations of the ancient astronomers, we may reckon it certain, that the Argonautic expedition was not earlier than the reign of Solomon: and if these astronomical arguments be added to the former arguments taken from the mean length of the reigns of kings according to the course of nature; from them all we may safely conclude, that the Argonautic expedition was after the death of Solomon, and most probably that it was about forty-three years after.

“ The Trojan war was one generation later than that expedition——several captains of the Greeks in that war being sons of the Argonauts, &c.”

By the last words here cited, I am brought round again to the point from whence I set out in this discourse, the fall of Troy: the time of which event, if it be rightly settled, or pretty near the truth, by Sir Isaac Newton, the received chronology of the regal state of Rome is totally discredited and overturned. For then the whole space of time, between the

taking of Troy and the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, will not have been above four hundred years; and of these nobody, I imagine, will be inclined to give two hundred and forty-four to the seven kings of Rome, most of whom were slain, and but a hundred and fifty-six to the fourteen Latine kings their predecessors.

To the probable arguments brought by Sir Isaac for shortening the duration of the regal state, I have added another, taken from certain traditions which prevailed among the Romans, and of which the chronology, framed afterwards, was not able to destroy the belief, though the truth of those traditions was incompatible with the truth of that chronology.

And I have shewn, that in the Roman story there are other particulars repugnant to the received chronology, but perfectly consistent with Sir Isaac Newton's computations.

Tradition and the earliest Roman historians said,

1. That Numa was contemporary with Pythagoras:

2. That Tarquin the Proud was the son of Tarquin the Elder.

3. That Tarquin the Proud was at the head of his army, and fought on horseback in his last battle with the Romans [about fourteen years after his expulsion.]

4. That Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, and created consul, on the expulsion of Tar-

quint the Proud, was the son of Egerius, nephew of Tarquin the Elder.

Now all these facts are inconsistent with the old chronology; and for this reason, and this alone, Dionysius rejects them. Livy, aware of the inconsistency, adheres nevertheless to the three last of these facts, and speaks of the first in such a manner as to make one think he really believed that too. So that he seems to have had little faith in the received chronology, though he durst not openly and expressly contradict it.

On the other hand, all those facts are consistent with Sir Isaac Newton's computations, which shorten the reigns of the kings. And the same computations being admitted, we get rid of other difficulties.

1. We see plainly, why the historians could give no account of any thing done by Romulus after the seventeenth year of his reign, while they tell us that he reigned thirty-seven years.

2. By shortening the duration of Numa's peaceful and religious reign, we can account for that martial disposition, which the Romans still retained, when Tullus Hostilius came to the throne.

3. If we shorten the reigns of Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, and Tarquinius Priscus, we are at no loss for a reason why three such ambitious and active princes did so little.

4. By cutting off about twenty-four years of the forty-four given to the reign of Servius

Tullius we can explain how it came to pass that there were no more than four lustra in his time; which otherwise seems very difficult to be accounted for.

It surely cannot be denied, that there is a great coincidence of circumstances to support Sir Isaac Newton's computations; and that his computations, if admitted, render credible many historical facts, which are incredible so long as we adhere to the old chronology.

A writer not less distinguished for his depth of thought, and logical exactness, than for his amiable, benevolent fairness in argument, observes, "That evidence arising from various coincidences, which confirm and support each other, is that kind of evidence upon which most questions of difficulty in common practice are determined.—And that probable proofs, by being added, not only increase the evidence, but multiply it."

Supposing it easy to shew, that in the present argument (consisting of Sir Isaac Newton's reasons, and those I have added to them), this or that particular thing, offered in proof, is liable to objection, and of little weight in itself; yet the united force of all the particulars, in one view, may perhaps be irresistible; and certainly the conclusion we make from a view of the particulars ought to be such as results from their united force.

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Bef. J. C.
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From the establishment of the Roman commonwealth in the year of Rome, 243, to the re-building of the city in 365, after the burning of it by the Gauls.

CHAP. I.

244. I. The state and condition of Rome on the abolition of the regal power. II. Tarquin prevails with the magistrates of Tarquinii in Hetruria to send an embassy to Rome in his favour, with a letter from him to the Roman people. III. A second embassy from the Tarquinienses to the Romans. The ambassadors engage some of the young patricians in a plot against the new government. It is discovered by Vindicius a slave. Brutus condemns his own sons to death, and sees the execution. IV. Collatinus is forced to abdicate the consulship; and Valerius is chosen to succeed him. V. Tarquin having stirred up the Tarquinienses and Veientes to take arms in his cause, they come to a battle with the Romans, in which Brutus is slain. VI. The people entertain a jealousy of Valerius's ambition, but soon after give him the name of Poplicola or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the consular authority. He creates two treasurers with the title of quæstors.
- Brutus's severity.
- Lex Valeria.
- Quæstors.

CHAP. II.

I. Poplicola is chosen consul a second time, and T. Lucretius appointed to be his colleague. Porsena, king of Clusium in Hetruria, sends a threatening embassy to Rome. The Romans chuse Poplicola consul a third time, and give him Horatius Pulvillus for a colleague. II. Porsena, in conjunction with some of the Latine states, marches an army into the neighbourhood of Rome. The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles. III. The desperate enterprise and wonderful resolution of Mucius Scævola. Porsena, intimidated by the courage of the Romans, desists from his demand of having the banished king restored. He makes a truce with the Romans, who refer it to his judgment, whether they shall restore to Tarquin his paternal estate or not. The adventure of Clælia during the pleadings. Porsena renounces the cause of Tarquin entirely, and makes a peace with the Romans. IV. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is consecrated. Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius chosen consuls. The Romans shew their gratitude to Porsena.

245.

Porsena.

246.

Horatius

Cocles.

Mucius

Scævola.

247.

CHAP. III.

I. The Romans, in the consulship of M. Valerius (brother of Poplicola), and P. Posthumius, make war against the Sabines, and twice defeat them. II. The Sabines unite in a national body against Rome, where Poplicola is chosen consul a fourth time. Appius Claudius leaves the Sabines and comes over to the Romans, with all his followers and dependants. The Sabines are again defeated. III. Poplicola dies. The Sabines upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the consulship of P. Posthumius and Menenius Agrippa, who obtain a signal victory over them. IV. An ovation only is decreed Posthumius, but a triumph to Menenius. V. The Sabines are subdued in the succeeding consulship of Sp. Cassius and Opiter Virginus.

248.

249.

Appius

Claudius.

250.

Ovation.

251.

CHAP. IV.

252. I. The Latines (in the consulate of Posthumius Cominius and T. Lartius) declare for king Tarquin against the new republic; but, before they take the field, send an embassy to Rome with proposals for an accommodation.
253. II. A conspiracy is there formed by some of Tarquin's emissaries, who accompany the Latine ambassadors. The plot is discovered and prevented by the consuls Servius Sulpitius and Manius Tullius; and the ambassadors are
255. dismissed with a refusal of their demands. III. The Latines dispatch a second embassy to Rome with offers of peace, upon new conditions; these are also rejected by the senate. The Romans prepare for war: but when the consuls Titus Lartius, and Q. Clælius, would make the necessary levies, the poorer citizens refuse to serve. IV. The cruelty of their creditors is the cause of this mutiny. The debtors demand an absolute remission of their debts. Great disputes arise in the senate on this occasion. In so dangerous a situation of affairs, they judge it necessary to create a dictator (a sovereign uncontrollable magistrate), and to this they get the people's consent. V. Titus Lartius is appointed to that supreme dignity. The levies for a war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the Latines
256. for a year: during which the Roman women married into Latium, and the Latine women married at Rome, have leave to return to their respective countries. VI. The
257. truce being expired, Posthumius one of the consuls is named dictator, and has the sole conduct of the war. He gives the Latines an entire overthrow in the battle of Regillus; after which the whole nation submits. Tarquin being obliged to quit Latium, retires to Cumæ in Campania, and there, in a few months after, dies.

Dictator.

Battle of
Regillus.Tarquin
dies.

CHAP. V.

258. I. The peace concluded with the Latines is followed by domestic broils at Rome, where the senate get the consul-

ship for Appius Claudius and P. Servilius. II. The Volsci, encouraged by the civil feuds among the Romans, prepare to fall upon them. The plebeians at Rome refuse to list themselves for the war. Servilius with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of personal affection, enters the territory of the enemy, and terrifies them into a submission for the present; but he has no sooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the republic. III. While the senate are consulting about the levies to be made on this occasion, a sudden accident occasions an insurrection at Rome. Servilius appeases the tumult. News comes that the Volsci are approaching. Servilius by fair promises in relation to the debts engages the people to list themselves. IV. He defeats the enemy, and though the senate refuse him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the soldiers, he triumphs in spite of their opposition. V. After this he takes the field again, and defeats the Aurunci. VI. The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promises. Servilius, not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the sedition increases.

CHAP. VI.

I. The people refuse to obey the summons of the new consuls (A. Virginus and T. Veturius) to list themselves for a war against the Sabines, Æqui, and Volsci. The senate, after some dispute among themselves, agree to create a dictator. Manius Valerius, a brother of Poplicola, is named to that dignity. II. Valerius prevails with the people to serve, by promising them full satisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war shall be over, and by suspending in the mean time all prosecutions for debt. Three armies are raised, to be commanded by the dictator and the two consuls. The enemy are defeated on all sides. III. The dictator at his return home demands of the senate to discharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuses himself to the people, and resigns the dictatorship.

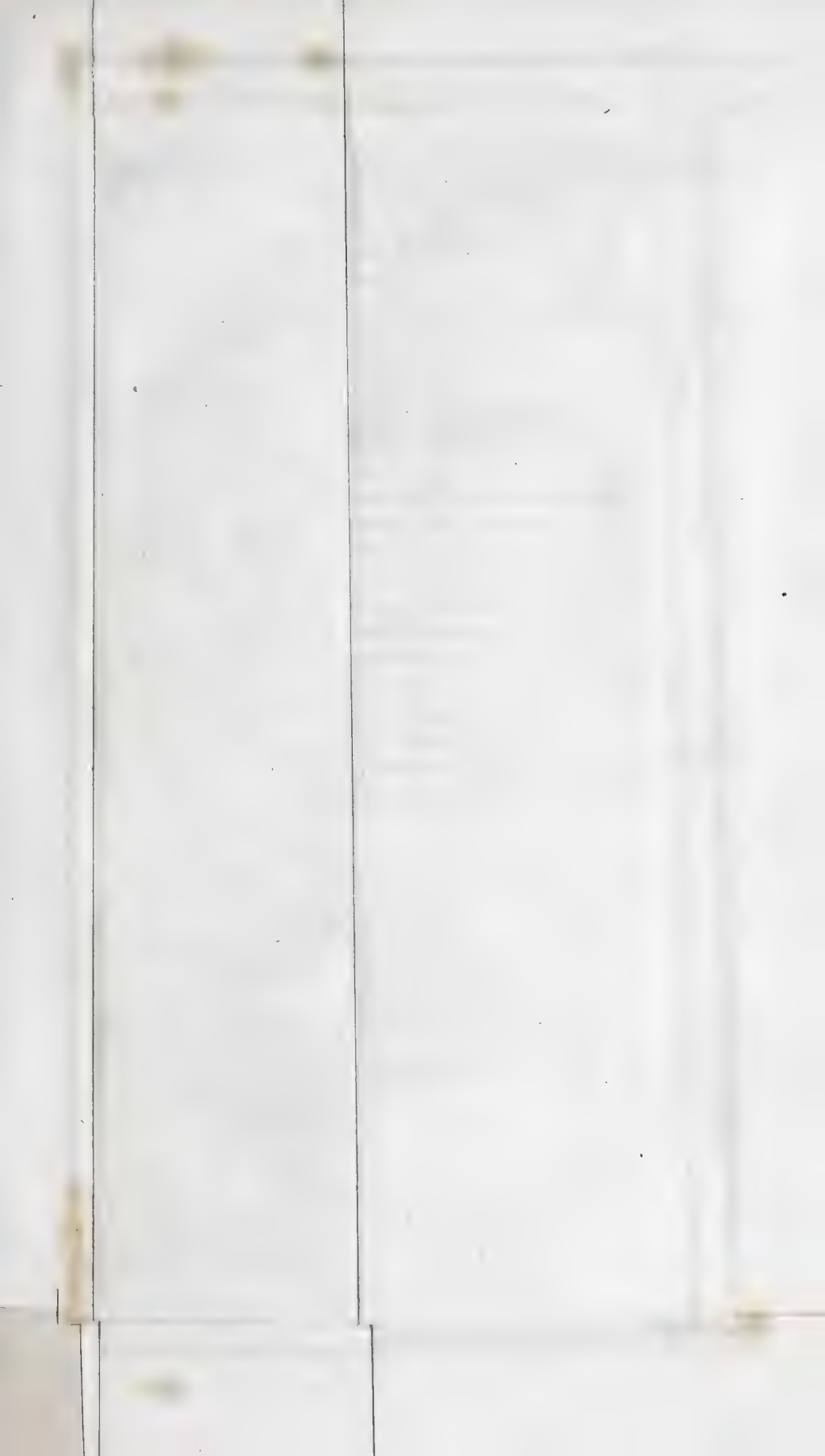
CHAP. VII.

Secession.

260.

Tribunes of
the people.

I. The discontent among the people augments. The consuls, to give the mutineers a diversion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet disbanded, again into the field. The soldiers desert their generals, and, by the advice of Sicinnius Bellutus, retire to a hill three miles from Rome. II. The senate dispatch a deputation to them to persuade them to return; but in vain. Posthumius Cominius, and Spurius Cassius, are chosen consuls. Warm debates in the senate. A second deputation is sent to the mutineers in spite of the remonstrances of Appius Claudius. III. The artful management of Sicinnius Bellutus, and Junius Brutus, the two heads of the sedition, in their conference with the deputies. IV. Menenius Agrippa, by soft words, and by his famous apologue, overcomes the obstinacy of the mutineers; but when they are just ready to go back to the city, Brutus puts a stop to their march till the senate have agreed to the creation of some new officers, chosen out of the plebeians, to be the future protectors of the people. These officers, styled tribunes of the people, being elected, and their persons declared sacred, the mutineers return to Rome.



This is a detailed historical map of the Western Roman Empire in 400 AD. The map is titled "A MAP of the Western Part of the ROMAN EMPIRE" in the top left corner. It shows the extent of Roman provinces, major cities, and surrounding regions like Germania and Britain. The map is oriented with North at the top. A scale bar is located in the bottom left corner, and a compass rose is in the bottom right corner. The map is labeled with various geographical features, including "OCEANUS GERMANICUS" to the north, "OCEANUS ATLANTICUS" to the west, and "MARE ADRIATICUM" to the east. Major cities like Rome, Carthage, and London are marked. The map is a monochrome engraving with a grid of latitude and longitude lines.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF THE ROMANS, AND THE BUILDING
OF ROME.

I. The first Romans were of Trojan extraction. II. Æneas's voyage to Italy. III. The ancient inhabitants of that country. IV. Æneas's reception by Latinus, king of Latium. He marries Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and builds Lavinium. V. He succeeds to the kingdom of his father-in-law. VI. The death of Æneas, who is succeeded by his son Ascanius. VII. Ascanius founds Alba Longa, and yields Lavinium to Æneas Sylvius, the son of Æneas by Lavinia. VIII. The Latines upon the death of Ascanius unite Lavinium and Alba into one dominion, which they decree to Æneas Sylvius, but give the sovereign power in affairs of religion to Iulus the son of Ascanius. IX. The succession of the kings of Alba, from Æneas Sylvius to Amulius, who dethrones his elder brother Numitor. X. The birth, education, and adventures of Romulus and Remus. They dethrone Amulius, and restore their grandfather Numitor. XI. Numitor sends his two grandsons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the spot of ground where the new city shall stand. Remus is slain. XII. Rome is built.

I. **T**HAT Æneas came into Italy after the destruction of Troy, and that the founders of Rome were descended from him and his followers, are points of history sufficiently authorised and established. All the Latine his-

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 39.

p. 43.

torians either expressly relate these facts or suppose them; and many of the Greek, less zealous for the Roman glory, adhere to the same tradition. Dionysius indeed speaks of some ancient writers who will not allow Æneas to have travelled farther than Thrace; of others who make him settle in Arcadia; and again of others, who, admitting that he passed into Italy, and there planted a colony, yet affirm that he afterwards went back into his own country, where, they say, he was king of Troy, and at his death left the kingdom to his son Ascanius: but all these opinions are rejected by that critical antiquary, who, upon better authorities, has given us the following account of the adventures of the Trojan prince.

p. 36, &
scq.

II. WHEN the Greeks, by the treachery of the sons of Antenor, or by whatever other means it happened, were become masters of Troy¹, Æneas with the forces under his command retired into the fortress of the city, and defended it bravely for some time; but yielding at length to necessity, he conveyed away his gods, his father, wife, and children, with every thing he had that was valuable, and, followed by a numerous crowd of Trojans, fled to the strong places of Mount Ida. Hither

p. 38.

¹ Though this account of Æneas's conduct with respect to his country be what D. Hal. esteems the most probable, yet he owns that the historians are of various opinions concerning it; and he particularly mentions a passage of Menecrates, importing, that Troy was taken through the treachery of Æneas, and that he betrayed it to the Greeks, to be revenged on Paris, who had opposed his having a certain sacerdotal dignity to which he aspired.

all those of his countrymen who were more anxious than the rest to preserve their liberty, flocked to him from the several towns of Troas. His army thus augmented and advantageously posted, he continued quiet, waiting for the departure of the Greeks, who, it was imagined, would return home as soon as they had pillaged the country. But these, after they had enriched themselves with the spoils of Troy and of the neighbouring towns, turned their arms against the fugitives, resolving to attack them in their strong holds upon the mountain. Æneas, to avoid the hazard of being forced in his last refuge, had recourse to negotiation, and, by his heralds, intreated the enemy not to constrain him to a battle. Peace was granted him on condition that he, with his followers, quitted the Trojan territories; and the Greeks, on their part, promised not to molest him in his retreat, but to let him safely pass through any country within the extent of their domination.

Upon this assurance, Æneas equipped a fleet, in order to seek a settlement in some foreign land. We are told, that at his departure he left his eldest son Ascanius with the Dascylites, a people of Bithynia, who desired to have him for their king; but that the young prince did not remain long with them: for when Scamandrius (Astyanax) with the rest of the Hectoridæ whom Neoptolemus permitted to return home from Greece, repaired to him, he put himself at their head, and led them back to their native country.

The Trojan, having crossed the Hellespont, arrived in the peninsula of Pallene², where he built a city, called from him Æneia, and left in it a part of that multitude which had followed him. From thence he sailed to Delos³, and thence to Cythera, where he erected a temple to Venus. He built another to the same goddess in Zacynthus⁴, in which island he likewise instituted games called The Races of Æneas and Venus: "The statues of both," says Dionysius, "are standing to this day." In Leucàs⁵, where the Trojans landed, was to be seen, in the same author's time, a temple erected to Venus the mother of Æneas. Nor were Actium⁶ and Ambracia⁷ without monuments that testified his arrival in those places. At Dodona⁸ were found brazen vases, upon which the name of the Trojan hero, who had made an offering of them to Jupiter, was en-

² The Pallene here meant was probably that of Macedon, not that of Thrace; but being inhabited by Thracians, is by D. Hal. p. 39. spoken of as in Thrace. Livy, B. 1. c. 1. says, that Æneas flying from his native country, came first into Macedon. C. & R.

³ Delos and Cythera are both islands in the Archipelago or Ægean Sea; the first, near the isle of Rhéne, has with it at present the common name of Dili or Idilles. Cythera lies to the east of the Morea or Peloponnesus, and is now called Cerigo.

⁴ Now Zante.

⁵ Now Santa Maura.

⁶ A promontory of Epirus, now Capo Figalo.

⁷ Formerly a city of Epirus, now only a village, bearing the name of Ambrakia.

⁸ In the country of the Molossi in Epirus. There are no traces of it remaining.

graven in old characters. Not far from Buthrotos⁹, in Epirus, a Trojan camp, which had escaped the injuries of time, retained the name of Troja. All these antiquities, still subsisting in the reign of Augustus, were then looked upon as indisputable proofs of Æneas's voyage to Epirus; “and that he came into Italy (adds the same Dionysius), we have the concurrent testimony of all the Romans; the ceremonies they observe in their sacrifices and festivals bear witness to it, as also the Sibylline books, the Pythian oracles, and many other things which nobody can reasonably reject as invented merely for ornament.” p. 39.

The first land of Italy which Æneas made, after crossing the Ionian Sea, was Cape Minerva¹, in Iapygia; and here he went on shore. Sailing afterwards from hence, and coasting along the south-east of Italy and the east and south sides of Sicily, he arrived with his fleet, either by choice or stress of weather, at the port of Drepanum² in that island. Elymus and Ægestus, who had escaped from Troy a little before him, had brought a Trojan colony to this place. Æneas augmented it by a good number of his followers, whom, pleased to have found a safe resting-place after many dangers and fatiguing voyages, he willingly left be- p. 41. p. 42.

⁹ Now Butronto.

¹ A promontory where there was a good summer haven. It was from this time called the port of Venus, now Castro.

² Now Capo di Sant' Alessio. The town is called Trapani.

hind him at their request; though certain authors pretend that he was constrained to it by the difficulty of transporting them, because some Trojan women, weary of the sea, had burnt a considerable part of his ships.

Æneas, leaving Drepanum, steered his course for Italy across the Tyrrhenian sea³. To the cape, where he first landed, he gave the name Palinurus⁴, from one of his pilots who died there. The little island of Leucasia, not far distant, whither he sailed next, got its name in like manner from a daughter of Æneas's sister, who there ended her days. The port of Misenum⁵, the island of Prochyta, and the promontory of Cajeta⁶, where he successively arrived, were so called from being the burial-places, the first of a noble Trojan his companion, the second of his kinswoman, and the third of his nurse. At length the Trojan prince and his chosen band finished their tedious and painful voyages on the coast of the since famous Latium⁷. This was a small territory, on the east side of the river Tiber, containing a part of the present Campagna di Roma: Latinus was the king of it;

D. H. p. 43.

³ The Tyrrhenian sea is a part of the Mediterranean. It washes the shores of Tuscany, the pope's territories, and the kingdom of Naples. It was called by the ancients Mare Inferum, to distinguish it from the Adriatic, which they named Mare Superum.

⁴ Now Capo di Palinuro, in the kingdom of Naples.

⁵ Capo di Miseno, in the same kingdom.

⁶ Now Gaëta.

⁷ Latium at this time comprehended but a small part of what was afterwards called by that name.

his capital town, Laurentum⁸; his subjects, a people who, till his time called Aborigines, had from him taken the name of Latines. p. 8.

Here, far removed from their implacable enemies the Greeks, Æneas and his followers undertook to raise a second Troy: they fortified a camp near the mouth of the Tiber, p. 43. gave it the name of Troy, and flattered themselves with the hopes of a quiet settlement, a period to all their unhappy adventures.

III. ITALY⁹, according to Dionysius, did p. 27. not get that name till about the time of Hercules. It was before called, by the Greeks, Hesperia, and Ausonia, but by the inhabitants Saturnia, from the god Saturn, whom they worshipped universally¹. And, before it ac-

⁸ It is difficult to fix the situation of the ancient city of Laurentum, of which there is no trace remaining. It was called by that name from the great number of laurels growing thereabouts. Varro, B. 4. de lingua Latina, p. 36.

⁹ Italy did not anciently contain above one half of what now goes by that name, yet it comprehended many distinct nations, the principal of which were, the Aborigines, Sabines, Hetrurians or Tuscans, Umbri, Samnites, Campani, Apulii, Calabrii, Lucanii, and Bruttii. The rest was chiefly possessed by the Gauls who had driven out the former inhabitants, and by the Ligures and Veneti.

¹ D. Hal. tells us (B. 1. p. 27.) that this appears from some Sibylline verses, and other oracles of the gods; and that, in his time, there were still, in Italy, many temples of Saturn; and that several cities and other places, especially rocks and very high hills, had derived their names from that of the god; and particularly that the hill Capitolinus was anciently called Saturnius. He mentions, as fabulous, a notion which prevailed very much among the people of Italy, that Saturn, in the golden age, was king of their country, and that it had been favoured,

quired this last name, it was called *Ænotria*, from *Ænotrus*, Lycaon's youngest son, who

more than any other, with the plenty and pleasures peculiar to those happy days.

Both this notion, and the worship universally paid, in Italy, to Saturn, are easy to be accounted for, if we suppose, with Sir Isaac Newton, (*Chron.* p. 152.) that the Saturn of the Latines was the Cretan Asterius, father of Minos, the Cretan Jupiter; and that (in true chronology) the golden age falls in with the reign of Asterius; and that when he fled from his son, he retired first into Attica, and afterwards into Italy, where, being well received by Janus, he introduced many of the arts useful to life. Sir Isaac Newton, after citing some passages, from various authors, in support of his opinion, goes on thus: (*in Chron.* p. 153, 154.)

“ By Saturn's carrying letters into Italy, and coining money, and teaching agriculture, and making instruments, and building a town, you may know that he fled from Crete, after letters, and the coining of money, and manual arts were brought into Europe by the Phœnicians; and from Attica, after agriculture was brought into Greece by Ceres; and so could not be older than Asterius, and Europa, and her brother Cadmus: and by Italy's being called *Ænotria*, before it was called *Saturnia*, you may know that he came into Italy after *Ænotrus*, and so was not older than the sons of Lycaon [the son of Pelasgus.] *Ænotrus* carried the first colony of Greeks into Italy, Saturn the second, and Evander the third; and the Latines know nothing older in Italy than Janus and Saturn: and therefore *Ænotrus* was the Janus of the Latines.—*Macrobius* (*Saturnal.* l. 1. c. 7.) tells us, that when Saturn was dead, Janus erected an altar to him, with sacred rites, as to a god, and instituted the *Saturnalia*, and that human sacrifices were offered to him; till *Hercules*, driving the cattle of *Geryon* through Italy, abolished that custom; by the human sacrifices you may know, that Janus was of the race of Lycaon; which character agrees to *Ænotrus*.”

D. Hal. (*B.* 1. p. 30.) says, that *Hercules*, to prevent

led thither a colony of Arcadians! Dion. p. 9.

Hal. thinks that these Arcadians were the same with the Aborigines², and the first scruples, in the people, about omitting a religious rite, received from their forefathers, persuaded them to throw, instead of men, little images of men, dressed up and adorned, into the Tiber, by way of sacrifice to the god; assuring them that Saturn would be as well pleased: and the historian adds, that even in his time the Romans annually, about the vernal equinox, performed this ceremony; the high priest, with great solemnity, throwing thirty poppets into the river.

It may be proper to observe, that according to Sir Isaac Newton's short Chronicle, the people of Latium could not have been long accustomed to human sacrifices, if Cœnотrus introduced the practice; for between his coming into the country, and the arrival of Hercules, who abolished the practice, there were but twenty years: yet the expression of the Greek historian is "quasi patriâ sacra neglexissent." (Huds. Transl.)

² Some historians held the Aborigines to be natives of Italy, who had that name given them because they had been there ab origine, from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Others pretend that the Aborigines were vagabonds and vagrants, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in Italy, and there lived by rapine; for which reason the same writers call them Aberrigines, that is to say, a wandering people, like those whom the ancients styled Leleges, by which they meant such adventurers as have been described. D. Hal. B. 1. p. 8.

But Dionysius, who was persuaded that the Aborigines came from Arcadia, says that they were called by that name from their living upon mountains, in which the Arcadians much delighted; and if so, it must be derived from ἀπ' ὀρέων γένεσις, which imports as much as mountaineers, or natives of the mountains. D. Hal. B. 1. p. 11.

That the Aborigines were from Arcadia, as Varro also believed, Sir Walter Raleigh seems to think probable. This name of Aborigines, says he (to omit other

p. 27, 28.

Greeks who came into Italy ; and that Italus, a conqueror, and one of the descendants of *Ænotrus*, gave it the name which to this day it retains.

D. Hal. p.
7.p. 14, &
seq.

From whatever country the *Aborigines* came, they were obliged to maintain long wars against the *Siculi* (the first inhabitants of Italy), till having received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of a colony of *Pelasgi* from *Thessaly*, they drove out their enemies, and seized upon their towns ; after which they granted a large extent of land to the *Pelasgi*, and borrowed from them many of the customs of *Greece*.

As for the *Siculi*, they, being chased out of all the countries of Italy, took refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time possessed by the *Sicani*, a people originally of *Spain*. And

significations that are strained), imports as much as original or native of the place which they possessed ; which title the *Arcadians* are known in a vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon. But he is inclined to think, with *Reyneccius*, from several passages in *D. Hal.* *Strabo*, *Justin* and *Pliny*, that Italy did not take that name from *Italus* the *Ænotrian*, but from *Ætolus* and a colony of *Ætolians*, which under him settled in that country. The word *Italia*, says he, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first letter is cast away, which in the Greek words is common, and the letter *o* is changed into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an island near Italy peopled by the *Ætholians* ; and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* dialect, which dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the grammarian teach. *Hist. of the World*, p. 458, 459.

at length the Pelasgi themselves, not being able to bear up against divers calamities with which they were afflicted, returned most of them into Greece, and retained there the name of Tyrrheni, which they had gained by their living in the neighbourhood of that nation during their stay in Italy.

About sixty years before the war of Troy, another colony, which came from Peloponnesus, under the conduct of Evander the Arcadian, son of Carmenta (or Themis) a prophetess, arrived in a port of Latium. Faunus then reigned over that petty kingdom, and was a prince of humanity and prudence. He considered, that nothing was to be feared from a few unhappy men, who had been conveyed thither in only two vessels; and he therefore suffered Evander to settle on a small uncultivated hill near the Tiber, where the Arcadian built a little town and called it Pallantium, after the name of his native city in Arcadia, which a popular commotion had constrained him to leave. The hill itself was thence called the hill Palatinus, which in the time of Augustus stood in the centre of Rome. p. 24.

Evander established in this new settlement the worship of the gods of his own country. Pan was the tutelar deity of the Arcadians. They invoked him to preserve their flocks from the wolves. And as the temple which had been dedicated to him in Greece was called Lycéum³, so that which Evander built, or p. 25.

³ The building of the temple of Pan under the name of Lycéum or Lupercal, answered to the idea which the pagans

rather cut in a rock, in Italy, was named Lupercal⁴: the Arcadian ceremonies were retained in his worship, and only the Greek name of his temple changed into a Latin one.

p. 26.

Evander built altars likewise, in Pallantium, to Victory and Ceres⁵, and instituted the festival of the Equestrian Neptune⁶, so called,

had formed to themselves of Pan, whom they looked upon as the tutelar god of their flocks against the wolves. Dion. Hal. Book 1. p. 25. says, that of all the gods, the Arcadians worshipped Pan with the most devotion. Nay these people, according to Macrobius, called him τὸν τῆς ὕλης Κυρίον, i. e. the lord of all material substances. C. & R.

⁴ The Lupercal was a cavern dug in a rock in a corner of mount Palatine. Some authors, and amongst them Ovid, pretend that Romulus and Remus consecrated this cave, because it had been the retreat of the wolf that suckled them.

“ Illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercal.”

Fast. B. 2.

In commemoration of this, the Romans placed there a brazen statue, representing a wolf suckling the twins. Fulvius Ursinus thinks it is the same which may be seen at present on the Capitol, at the palace of the Conservators. C. & R.

⁵ The Latines adored Victory and Ceres before the other gods Jupiter, Juno, &c. They represented Victory under the form of a young girl with wings painted white. Ceres was represented like the mother of a family, with a long training robe, and held in her hand some ears of corn, or poppies. C. & R.

⁶ This festival, says D. Hal. was called by the Arcadians Hippocratia, but by the Romans Consualia, from Consus a name afterward given to Neptune; in the time of Romulus.

Before Romulus the subterraneous cavern made by order of Evander was dedicated only to the Equestrian Neptune; but Romulus, when he designed to carry off the Sabine women, took occasion from this altar, which he

because, according to the Greek fable, Neptune, with a stroke of his trident, raised the first horse out of the earth ; or, because, according to Diodorus and Pausanias, he was the first man who found out the art of breaking horses⁷. During the celebration of this

Virg. Geo.
l. 1. v. 12.
Diod. Sic.
l. 5. p. 233.
Pausan. l.
7. c. 21.

had found under ground, to celebrate those games at which he executed his design ; and as this project was the effect of a long deliberation, he therefore called the divinity, whose worship furnished him with the opportunity, Consus, that is, the god of counsel. These games consecrated to the Equestrian Neptune, or otherwise to Consus, were celebrated ever after at Rome, and called, by way of eminency, the Roman or great games. They consisted chiefly in chariot and horse races ; at first they held only one day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great Circus, and called also Ludi Circenses, or, the games of the Circus. C. & R.

⁷ This chevalier Neptune, to whom Diodorus and Pausanias give the honour of being, not only the first riding-master, but the first admiral of a fleet, and the inventor of ships (on which account the mariners, after his death, worshipped him as god of the sea), was, according to Sir Isaac Newton (Chron. p. 67. & 230.) the brother and admiral of Sesostris king of Egypt, son of Ammon (deified after his death by the name of Jupiter Ammon.) He conjectures (upon no weak grounds) that the several names, Bacchus, Osiris, Siris, Busiris, Mars, Hercules, and Sesostris, were names of one and the same man ; and that this man was no other than the Sesac or Shishak of the Old Testament, whose sister Solomon married, and who pillaged Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam (the son of Solomon, but not by his Egyptian queen).

The following particulars are part of Sir Isaac Newton's history of this mighty conqueror :

“ Sesostris being brought up to hard labour by his father Ammon, warred first under his father, being the Hero or Hercules of the Egyptians during his father's reign, and afterwards their king,

D. H. p. 26. festival, a cessation from labour was granted to all horses and mules, and they were crowned with flowers.

“Under his father, whilst he was very young, he invaded and conquered Troglodytica, and thereby secured the harbour of the Red sea, near Coptos in Egypt;

“And then he invaded Ethiopia, and carried on his conquest southward as far as to the region bearing cinnamon :

“And, his father, by the assistance of the Edomites, having built a fleet on the Red sea, he put to sea, and coasted Arabia Fœlix, going to the Persian Gulf, and beyond, and in those countries set up columns with inscriptions denoting his conquests ;——

“After these things he invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club in his hand :——

“And after the conquest of Libya, by which Egypt was furnished with horses [in greater abundance than ever before] and furnished Solomon and his friends ; he prepared a fleet on the Mediterranean, and went on westward upon the coast of Afric, to search those countries, as far as to the ocean, and island Erythra or Gades in Spain ; as Macrobius (Saturn. l. 5. c. 21.) informs us from Panyasis and Pherecydes : [if Sesostrius was their Hercules ;] and there he conquered Geryon, and at the mouth of the Straits set up the famous pillars.

Lucan. l.
10.

‘Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sesostrius.’

“Then he returned through Spain, and the southern coasts of France and Italy, with the cattle of Geryon, his fleet attending him by sea, and left in Sicily the Sicani, a people which he had brought from Spain :”——&c. Chron. p. 214.

Chron. p.
226.

p. 16.

In this expedition his admiral was his brother Neptune, who, because the fleet, which he commanded, consisted of three squadrons, was represented by the ancients with a trident : and because he reigned over Libya, the country from which horses originally came, he was called Equestrian Neptune.

Is it not possible, that Neptune, who, whenever he

The mixture of this new colony of Arcadians with the Aborigines did not a little con-

lived, was doubtless a seaman, and probably the first who commanded a fleet of long ships with sails, might owe his knighthood to his having, for the ensign of his ships, the figure of a horse? Sir Isaac Newton observes, that the fable of Jupiter's assuming the shape of a bull, had its origin from a bull's being the ensign of the ship in which Europa was carried away from Zidon. Now Pausanias (in B. 8. c. 25.) gives us a fable of Neptune's changing himself into a horse, and for the sake of a woman too. It seems, that while Ceres was rambling about in quest of her stolen daughter, Neptune saw her and fell in love with her. She, to avoid his importunities by a disguise, transformed herself into a mare: but Neptune, having discovered the cheat, served her as good a trick, by changing himself into a horse; in which shape he pursued her and compassed his ends. Perhaps the meaning of this courtship of Ceres by Neptune, in the shape of a horse, might be no more, than that Neptune with a fleet of ships, which had, for their ensigns, or on their heads, the figure of a horse, pursued and took some vessels loaded with corn; or perhaps sailed to Sicily, the country of Ceres, for corn; for thither, according to D. Hal. the great Hercules (Sir Isaac's Sesostris) sailed when he left Italy.

Chron. p.
150.

It is observable that the same Evander, who is said to have been the first who recognized Hercules for a god, and to have erected an altar to him present, is also said to have instituted the festival of the Equestrian Neptune; who, according to Sir Isaac Newton, was the admiral of the Egyptian Hercules, that is, of Sesostris.

D. Hal. p.
32.

Sir Isaac Newton, in his short Chronicle, places Evander's going into Italy above sixty years later than the arrival of this Egyptian Hercules there; but he assigns no reason any where for so placing it; and he observes (Chron. p. 182.) that Dionysius makes them contemporary. And this would seem more probable, if Sir Isaac has rightly placed the arrival of Hercules in Italy. For Dionysius tells us, that Evander, who taught letters to the Aborigines, had himself but lately learnt them: conse-

Chron. p.
17 & 25.

tribute to improve and civilize the latter. Some say that the art of expressing their thoughts by literal characters⁸ was first taught them by these Arcadians, who had themselves but lately learnt it. Evander likewise habituated their ears to the sounds of those musical instruments he had brought from his own country, and changed their oaten pipes into harmonious flutes and stringed instruments⁹.

p. 33, 34.

In the mean time one of those heroes, to whom the ancients gave the name of Hercules,

quently we should suppose, that he flourished soon after Cadmus brought letters into Greece. And from Cadmus's coming into Greece to the coming of Hercules into Italy, there are little more than thirty years, by Sir Isaac's computation; and but seven years from the time that Asterius, the Saturn of the Latines (who was the husband of Europa, the sister of Cadmus), fled from Crete into Italy, and introduced letters there, to the arrival of Hercules. But Sir Isaac says in his introduction (p. 8.) that he does not pretend to be exact to a year; there may be errors [in his calculations] of five or ten years, and sometimes twenty.

⁸ The Greek characters were the first the Latines made use of; there were some visible proofs of this remaining in the time of Augustus. The treaty which Tarquin the Proud made with the Gabini was still to be seen in the time of Dion. Hal. in the temple of Jupiter Fidius. It was written in Greek letters, though in Latin words, upon a wooden shield covered with the skin of the ox, which had been sacrificed on that occasion. D. Hal. B. 4. p. 257.

⁹ The Latines, in consideration of the benefits they received from Evander and his mother Carmenta (so called from the word carmen, she being a prophetess who sung her oracles in verse) paid them divine honours after their deaths, and Rome continued to offer sacrifices to them when in her greatest splendor.

came from Spain into the country where Faunus and Evander had their settlements. The story of Hercules being sent by Eurystheus to the island Erythea (Gades) to bring from thence Geryon's cows to Argos; and likewise the story of Cacus the cow-stealer, Dionysius rejects as mere fables. Those authors (says he) who have written historically of Hercules, seem to come nearer the truth, when they tell us, that he was the greatest captain of his time, and, at the head of a mighty army, overran the whole earth (*quicquid terrarum oceanus cingit*); that he civilized the nations which he conquered, establishing among them legitimate governments, and excellent laws, and using his endeavours to open a free and safe commerce, by land and sea, between all nations: so that he did not come into Italy, a single adventurer, driving cattle before him. For (adds the historian) it was no good road from Spain to Argos, and he would never have been so honoured in Italy as he was, had he only passed through the country: but he came attended by numerous forces, to conquer it, and to subject all its inhabitants to his obedience. This, to the benefit of the conquered, he effected, though not without difficulty, from the vigorous opposition of some of the nations, and especially of the Ligurians, in his passage over the Alps. Cacus¹, who

¹ One night when the troops of Hercules were asleep, Cacus came upon them by surprise and carried off their baggage and provisions; and hence the fable of his stealing from Hercules, Geryon's cows.

withstood Hercules, seems to have been the chief of a people in the neighbourhood of Faunus and Evander : because, after the reduction and death of this enemy, Hercules disposed of his lands, partly to the subjects of those two princes, and partly to some of his own troops, which he left behind him in Italy. (For it was his custom to recruit his army with the people he subdued, and, when they had served him faithfully for some time, to reward them with lands, and easy settlements, in other countries which he had conquered by their assistance). These troops of Hercules made themselves at first a separate republic ; but at length, by a social intercourse and a mutual communication of customs and manners, they grew into one body with the Aborigines, and the Arcadians of Evander ; and all distinction ceased.

D. Hal. p.
32.

Evander is said by some to have recognized Hercules for a god, and to have been the first that did so, erecting an altar², and sacrificing a bull to him, even present.

² This altar, called Ara Maxima, was remaining at Rome in the time of Augustus. It stood in the ox-market ; but notwithstanding its fine name, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorned. Hercules was invoked in all verbal bargains to be the voucher of the faith and sincerity of the parties, by this form of an oath, Me Deus Fidius, which comprehended all the energy of this, ita me Deus Fidius adjuvet. According to several commentators, these monosyllables, me and è, had the same force amongst the Latines as the preposition per ; so me Deus Fidius, and per Dium Fidium, è Castor, and per Castorem, signified the same things. This form of

When the conqueror had settled everything in Italy to his mind, and when his fleet was arrived from Spain, he embarked and passed into Sicily. p. 35.

He had staid long enough in Italy to build Herculaneum, and to have two sons, Pallas and Latinus, the first by Lavinia the daughter of Evander, the other by a north-country girl (Hyperborea Puella), whom, in his progress, he had received from her father as a hostage. It is said that he had no private conversation with her till he came into Italy, but then took a liking to her, and she proved with child. The mother, at his departure from Italy, he graciously gave in marriage to Faunus; which occasioned an opinion, entertained by many, that Latinus was the son of Faunus, whereas in truth he was only his successor, and was the son of Hercules.

IV. It was this Latinus who reigned in Latium, when Æneas arrived there. Being then in war with his neighbours the Rutuli³, and fortune not favouring his arms, it greatly added to his perplexity to hear that a foreign army had made a descent upon his coasts, pillaged the maritime part of his dominions, and were fortifying themselves in a camp at a little distance from the sea. Instantly he marched with all his forces, against these D. Hal. B.
1. 45.

speech answered to these particles $\mu\alpha$, $\nu\eta$, which the Greeks made use of before their oaths. C. & R.

³ The Rutuli inhabited the sea coast of the Campagna di Roma, between Patrica and Nettuno. C. & R.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 1.

strangers⁴, hoping to get rid of them at once; but when, drawing near them, he perceived that they were armed after the Greek manner, and that keeping exactly their ranks, they stood resolutely prepared for battle, he began to doubt of the success, and, instead of fighting, desired a parley. Æneas by the mention of Troy, the place of his nativity, utterly destroyed and reduced to ashes, and by the relation of his battles against the united power of Greece, filled Latinus at once with terror and compassion. The Trojan proceeded in words to this effect:

Dion. Hal.
B. 1. p. 47.

“ A place of refuge and a quiet settlement are what, by the direction of the gods, we seek in this country. We are not come upon your coasts as enemies. We have indeed taken by force wherewith to supply our pressing wants; necessity compelled us to this unbecoming violence; but we intreat you not to be offended at what is past, nor to look upon it as an act of hostility. We are ready to repair by important services, the injuries we have done you against our inclination. Our strength and our courage, which have been often tried, shall be employed to defend your lands from invasion, and to invade those of your enemies. But if, rejecting our humble supplication, you determine for a war, it will neither be the first nor the greatest that we shall have sustained.”

Latinus, struck with the magnanimity and boldness of the Trojan leader and his followers, and considering that these strangers might do him great service in his present wars, easily

⁴ The Trojans were then but six hundred. Solinus, c. 8.

granted their request, entered into a league with them, and assigned them a tract of land for a settlement. They, in return, employed their arms, valour and experience in defence of Latinus, who came at length to have so great a confidence in the Trojan prince, that he gave him Lavinia his daughter and only child in marriage⁵, and thereby secured to him the succession to the Latine throne. p. 48, 49.

Lavinia therefore could not but be dear to Æneas, who in proof of it gave her name to the camp which he had pitched; and instead of Troy called it Lavinium. And as all the Trojans followed the example of their leader, and by marriages made alliances with Latine families, they and the Latines in a little time became one people.

V. THE prosperity of Æneas proved the ruin of Turnus, a young prince, the queen's nephew, and educated in the palace under the eye of Latinus, and who had therefore entertained hopes of marrying Lavinia, and of succeeding to the throne. To revenge himself for this disappointment, he went over to the Rutuli, and soon after brought on a battle between them and the Latines, in which he and Latinus both⁶ perished; and thus Æneas, by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a dangerous rival, came into quiet possession of the kingdom of Latium, which p. 51.

⁵ Æneas, according to Virgil, lost his first wife Creüsa in the dark, when he was making his escape from Troy.

⁶ According to Livy, B. 1. c. 2. Turnus survived this battle.

he governed wisely, and transmitted to his posterity.

p. 52.

Æneas reigned three years, and applied himself no less to the regulation of religion, than to the necessary measures for his defence and security. He established in Latium the worship of the gods of his own country. The two Palladiums⁷, which had been the pro-

⁷ These were two statues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy : so that, properly speaking, there was but one true Palladium.

Ovid speaks of this statue as an image of Pallas, which fell down from Heaven upon one of the hills near Troy. According to Diodorus, it fell at Pessinus, a city of Phrygia; it was made of wood, and held a pike in its right hand, and a distaff and spindle in its left: to which he adds, that this miraculous image was put into the hands of Dardanus, who took all possible care to preserve the precious depositum, having been told by the oracle of Apollo, that this new city of Ilion should subsist so long as he kept this present from Heaven in it, and no longer. And this tradition, fabulous as it is, was the foundation of that religious respect the Romans paid the Palladium. D. Hal. [B. 1. p. 54, 55, 56. and B. 2. p. 127.] frankly owns, that there were many secrets belonging to this piece of antiquity, which he was not let into; adding, that it was unlawful to discover them to the profane vulgar. However, when the world came to be enlightened by Christianity, the cheat was soon discovered, and even the keepers of this pretended divinity made no scruple of undeceiving the credulous people. Arnobius and Clemens Alexandrinus agree in their account of the Palladium, that it was made of the bones of Pelops, that ancient king of Peloponnesus, and that the pagans themselves had betrayed this secret.

Clemens Alexandrinus goes farther, and discovers the shameful rites of that mysterious worship, which the ancient pagans paid to this and two other statues, on which the fate of cities and nations were supposed to depend.

tectors of Troy before it was ruined, became the tutelar deities of Lavinium, and in process of time, of the whole Roman empire. They were shut up at Rome in the temple of Vesta,

He seems to have thought them pieces of necromancy. He tells us, that Athenodorus discovered the composition of which the statue of Serapis, the tutelar god of the Egyptians, was made. And he adds these words :

“Sesostris having subdued many nations of Greece, brought away from thence all sorts of artificers, and he ordered one Briaxes to make a statue of Osiris, one of his ancestors, which the artificer did, using all sorts of metals and precious stones in it, to render his work the more perfect ; and he took particular care to put into it a perfume, with which the bodies of Osiris and Apis had been embalmed ; from their two names, therefore, the statue was called Osirapis, and afterward, by corruption, Serapis.”

The same Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, the tutelar god of Greece, was made of the bones of an elephant. From all which we may conjecture, that the tutelar gods of the several countries of the Pagan world were so many talismans, made according to the rules of magic.

But to return to the Palladium, it may be asked whence it got that name ? The common answer is, that it represented the goddess Pallas, but there is some foundation to believe, that the goddess owed both her name and origin to the statue. Dion. Hal. [B. 1. p. 55.] gives us the following story of the Palladium, upon the testimony of Callistratus. Pallas, says he, was a king of Arcadia, and the father of Chrysé ; she was married to Dardanus, and had this statue for her portion, and called it Pallas's present, who in all probability made this talisman. In after times, to gain it veneration, fable made it the statue of a goddess, who bore the name of Arcadian Pallas. And what strengthens this conjecture is, that the Palladium represented a young man armed from head to foot. As it was easy to mistake the sex, the vulgar made it a war-like goddess. C. & R.

and to the Vestals only was permitted the sight of them.

D. Hal. B.
I. p. 56.

Dionysius is of opinion, that Æneas brought into Italy, together with the Palladiums, the statues of the great gods, honoured by the Greeks, and more especially by those of Samothrace : and he tells us, he is supported in this opinion by the authority of Callistratus, who wrote a history of Samothrace ; Satyrus, who made a collection of ancient fables ; and Aratinus, the most ancient poet known.

p. 52.

VI. BUT while Æneas was thus employed, the Rutuli entered into a league with the Hetrurians⁸ against a stranger whose good fortune they envied. Especially Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians⁹, was alarmed at the too frequent arrival in Italy of colonies from the eastern nations, their numerous settlements, and the encroachments they made upon the lands of the first inhabitants. Fear and jealousy therefore made him take the field.

While the confederate armies were advancing towards Lavinium, either to besiege it, or to draw the Trojan to an engagement, Æneas marched out, and gave them battle. The action lasted till night, and equal bravery was shewn on both sides : but Æneas being pushed

⁸ We are to understand here the people of that part of ancient Hetruria, which comprehended what is now called St. Peter's Patrimony, the duchy of Castro, and the territories of Orvieto and Perugia. C. & R.

⁹ Mezentius had under his dominion that territory which depended on the ancient city Agylla, now Cerveteri, in the Ecclesiastical State. C. & R.

to the banks of the Numicus¹, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The Trojans concealed his body, and to make him pass for a deity in the minds of his credulous subjects, pretended that he had vanished away on a sudden; accordingly, a temple was erected to him, with an inscription² upon it, which declared him at least a demi-god. Such was the end of Æneas, the Trojan prince so much celebrated by the Greek and Latine poets, and who, because he was illegitimate, and born of a mother remarkable for her beauty, was, agreeable to the manner of speaking in those times, called the son of Venus.

The death of Æneas caused no disorder in the affairs of the Latines. His colony and kingdom subsisted under the administration of his son Eurileon³, who succeeded him. This prince was born at Troy of Creüsa, the daughter of Priam, and had come with his father into Italy. He had changed his name, and at this time bore that of Ascanius, the name of his elder brother, who had been left in Bithynia. The young king did not think

¹ The Numicus, now Rio de Nimi, according to geographers, was formerly a river. It is now scarce more than a rivulet; it ran close by Lavinium. C. & R.

² This inscription, according to Aurelius Victor, was in these words: Patri Deo Indigeti. The word Indiges, with the Latines, signified one of those gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deified. The same Æneas, according to Livy, B. 1. c. 2. had divine honours paid him under the name of Jupiter Indiges. C. & R.

³ He had three names, Eurileon, Iulus, and Ascanius.

it advisable to engage immediately in a pitched battle with a formidable enemy, whose pride was elevated by the death of Æneas : he had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of Lavinium, and to try what could be done by negotiation, before he had recourse to arms. The haughty Mezentius demanded of the Latines, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of Latium. Ascanius preferred an honourable war to a shameful dependence. To break off a treaty so injurious to his people, he caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to Jupiter ; and by thus transferring the demesne to the god, he made the estate unalienable.

The enemy had pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of Lavinium ; and the flower of their youth, under the command of Lausus, the son of Mezentius, lay intrenched almost at the gates of the city. The Trojans, who had been accustomed, during a ten years siege, to make brisk sallies upon the besiegers, marched out in the night, and vigorously attacked the post where Lausus commanded. His intrenchments were forced ; and then the army in the plain, intimidated by the defeat of their advance-guard, immediately fled. The Latines pursued them, and in the pursuit Lausus was slain ; which, with the check his troops had received, so discouraged Mezentius, that he immediately sued for peace. It was agreed, that for the future the Tiber

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 52.

p. 53.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 3.

should be the boundary both to the Latines and Hetrurians.

VII. BUT now Lavinia, whom Æneas at his death had left with child, entertained a strong jealousy of the ambition of her step-son, whom victory made absolute in his new dominions; and she feared to expose the infant, she was going to be delivered of, to the danger of his politics. She fled therefore into the woods, trusting herself to the care of one Tyrrhenus, chief of her father Latinus's shepherds, and was there delivered of a son, who from the place of his birth took the surname of Sylvius. But the queen's flight, who had disappeared on a sudden, occasioning suspicions at Lavinium prejudicial to the reputation of Ascanius, he caused diligent search to be made after her, calmed her fears, and engaged her to return to the town with her son, whom he ever after treated as a brother. And as Lavinium was in reality the patrimony of Lavinia, and a demesne which ought therefore to descend to Sylvius, it was, perhaps, for this reason, that Ascanius determined to yield it to them, and to build another city where to fix his residence. This new city he called Alba Longa⁴; Alba, as the historians tell us, from a white sow which Æneas found in the place where it was built; and Longa, both to distinguish it from another town named Alba, and because without having much breadth, it

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 56.

Anr. Victor
de Orig.
Rom. Livy,
B. 1. c. 3.

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 53.
and Livy,
B. 1. c. 3.

⁴ Alba was probably situated between Monte Cavo and the lake of Castello Gandolfo. C. & R.

D. Hal. p.
53.
p. 56.

extended itself the whole length of a lake near which it was founded.

It was thirty years after the building of Lavinium, that Ascanius removed to Alba; and there he died, after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had resided at his new settlement. He left by a wife, whose name history has not transmitted to us, at least one son, who was born in Alba, and called Iulus; so that there remained of the posterity of Æneas a son and a grandson, the one Æneas Sylvius, the other this Iulus: and between them lay the right of succession to the Latine throne⁵.

Ibid.

VIII. THE Latines not thinking it for their interest to continue divided under two governments, resolved to unite Alba and Lavinium into one dominion: and as Sylvius, being the grandson of Latinus, seemed to have the best title to the whole, the people, who were the judges, decreed it to him. However, to prevent divisions, and to make Iulus some amends, they conferred on him the sovereign power in affairs of religion. It was, perhaps, from hence that the Julii constantly preserved the priesthood in their family, and that the Cæsars always assumed the quality of high-priests.

p. 57.

IX. THE kingdom of Alba continued for

⁵ The Latine state seems to have had no greater extent than from Alba to the mouth of the Tiber, nor any other towns than Lavinium, Alba Longa and perhaps Laurentum, where Latinus kept his court at the time of Æneas's arrival; if, after all, Lavinium and Laurentum were not the same town. C. & R.

near four hundred years in an almost uninterrupted tranquillity under Æneas Sylvius and his successors, without being either considerably diminished or increased. But as a state⁹ which remained so long in peace afforded little matter for history, we have scarce any thing left us, besides the names of its kings, and the number of years which each of them reigned.

Æneas Sylvius Posthumus, died after a reign of twenty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son

Æneas Sylvius, who governed Latium thirty-one years.

Latinus Sylvius, who succeeded him, held the sceptre for the space of fifty-one years.

Alba reigned thirty-nine.

Capetus (or according to Livy, Atys) twenty-six.

Capis twenty-eight. And

Calpetus thirteen.

Tiberinus, who succeeded him, being less peaceably inclined than his predecessors, undertook a war which proved fatal to him. In an engagement upon the banks of the Tiber, which till then was called Albula, he was forced into the river, and being carried away by the current, was drowned. This accident of Tiberinus, who reigned but eight years, caused the river's name to be changed, and ever since it has borne no other but that of Tiber.

⁹ This state subsisted, according to D. Hal. about four hundred and thirty years, reckoning from Æneas's arrival in Italy to the building of Rome.

Agrippa, successor to Tiberinus, after a reign of forty-one years, left the throne to

Alladius, who reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by

Aventinus, who reigned thirty-seven years, and left his name to the hill Aventinus, where he was interred.

Procas, who succeeded him, held the sceptre twenty-three years. He was the father of Numitor and Amulius, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder son Numitor.

Amulius,⁷ who doubtless surpassed his brother in understanding and courage, had no respect either to priority of birth, or to the last appointment of his father. He not only snatched the sceptre from Numitor, and made him pass his days in retirement; but used all the cruel precautions of a tyrant to secure the throne to himself, by extinguishing his brother's posterity. Numitor had an only son named Ægestus, and a daughter called Rhea Sylvia⁸. The tyrant caused the first to be slain at a hunting, and, to prevent the other from having children, consecrated her to the worship of Vesta, by which she was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for the Vestal, either by her own fault, or by violence done to her, be-

Liv. B. 1.
c. 3.

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 62.

⁷ Amulius being the younger brother, says Plutarch, had the gold and silver for his portion, and Numitor his father's crown. Amulius made use of his riches to dethrone his brother, in Rom. p. 19.

⁸ Sometimes Ilia.

came the mother of twins. The story is related after the following manner.

X. RHEA SYLVIA was called to the performance of some religious service in a temple of Mars near the town. A spring of water glided through the sacred wood, with which the temple was inclosed ; and the priestess, in order to discharge one of her sacerdotal functions, went thither to take the necessary water for the sacrifice. Then and there a man disguised in a military habit, like that in which Mars was commonly represented, surprised and forced the Vestal. Amulius's ill reputation has made him suspected by some of doing this violence to his niece himself ; not so much to gratify a brutal passion, as to have a pretence for condemning her to that punishment which the law had assigned for Vestals who proved unchaste. Others are of opinion, that she met a young lover there by appointment. Be that as it will, Rhea Sylvia thenceforward abstained from her functions, and from entering the temple, under a pretence of an indisposition. Usurpers are ever suspicious. Amulius soon conjectured what kind of disorder it was that afflicted his niece, and therefore caused her to be watched. Nay he scrupled not to tax the father and mother of the Vestal as the contrivers of an intrigue, which might procure them grand-children. When Rhea could no longer conceal her shame, she charged the god Mars with being the cause of it. The circumstances of the temple, the sacred wood, and the pretended presence of that god, who

p. 63.

was believed to make his residence in a sanctuary consecrated to him, gave a less odious colour to the matter, whether her crime, or her misfortune. But these things made no impression on the mind of Amulius. He not only placed some trusty women about her, but appointed a guard of armed men to watch her, which they did till she was delivered of two sons. The tyrant took all advantages of this accident; he laid open the Vestal's shame in an assembly of the people, exaggerated her fault, and urged both religion and the laws against her. Rhea was condemned to be first whipped, and then put to death; and the fruits of her criminal amour to be thrown into the Tiber. But most of the historians say, that Amulius, at the intercession of his daughter Antho, changed the sentence against Rhea into perpetual imprisonment, and that she was not released from her confinement till the tyrant was dethroned. As to the twins, the sentence against them was executed in this manner:

D. Hal. p.
64.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 19.

A little wooden trough being prepared, and the two infants laid in it, they were carried to the bottom of Mount Palatine, and there turned adrift upon the Tiber, which at that time overflowed its banks and washed the foot of the mountain. The place where they were exposed was about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Alba. The little skiff floated awhile without any accident, but at length being carried against a stone by the ebbing of the flood, it was upset, and the two brothers

Fabius Pic-
tor, Portius
Cato, Cal-
purnius
Piso, apud
D. Hal. B.
1. p. 64.
&c.

turned out upon the strand. It has been the general tradition, that a she wolf hearing their cries came and suckled them; but it is more probable that Acca Laurentia, whose husband, Faustulus, found the two children, and who nursed them, was called by the nickname of Lupa, or wolf, for her disorderly life, and that this gave rise to the fabulous miracle.

Faustulus was the chief of the king's shepherds, and being probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, was suitably careful of their education: he sent them to Gabii, a city of Latium, to learn the Greek literature.

P. 71.

As they grew up, they appeared to have something great in their mien and air, which commanded respect, and they assumed a superiority over the other shepherds, and the country people. A quarrel happening between the herdsmen of Amulius and those of Numitor, the two brothers took the part of the former against the latter, of whom in the fray they slew some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight. The worsted party resolved to be revenged on Romulus and Remus (for so the twins were called), and the festival of the Lupercalia⁹ yielded a favourable opportunity

Plut. in
Rom. p. 20.
D. Hal. B.
l. p. 66.

Ælius Tu-
bero, apud
D. Hal. B.
l. p. 67.

⁹ Valerius Maximus, B. 2. c. 2. § 9. pretends, that the festival of the Lupercalia was not older than the foundation of Rome. Livy, L. 1. c. 5. Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 25. 67. and Plutarch, (Rom. p. 31.) are of opinion that this festival was brought by Evander out of Greece. The ceremonies observed in it were these. First, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. When this

Plut. Rom.
p. 21.

to put their design in execution. While the two brothers were scouring the plain with their whips in their hands, according to the ceremonies used in this festival, Remus was on a sudden surrounded, taken prisoner, and led away to Numitor, before whom he was accused of exercising a kind of tyranny in the forests. The deposed king for the most part led a private life in the country, in the utmost subjection to the usurper's will. He durst not proceed against the person accused, without the consent of Amulius; but he had no sooner obtained it than he condemned the prisoner to death. The sentence was just going to be executed, when either out of instinct, compassion, or esteem for a young shepherd, whose person and courage spoke something superior to his condition, he found himself strongly inclined to save him. He therefore deferred the execution, and resolved to have a moment's conference with the criminal. He asked him in what part of Latium he was born, and who were his parents. Re-

was done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, armed in this manner, and covered only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city and the fields, striking all they met. The young married women suffered themselves to be struck by them, and believed those strokes were a help to fruitfulness. This festival was celebrated the 15th of February. The priests who presided at these sacrifices were at first divided into two colleges, one whereof was for Remus, the other for Romulus; but afterwards there was a third added in honour to Julius Cæsar. This festival was chiefly celebrated in the villages. C. & R.

mus replied, that his family and the place of his nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, said he, from the shepherd who brought up my brother Romulus and me, is, that we are twins, and that we were found exposed upon the bank of the river; an answer which immediately struck Numitor with a lively remembrance of his two grandsons: their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two princes were exposed upon the Tiber, and there needed no more to change his anger and threatenings into tenderness.

D. Hal. p. 68.

In the mean time Romulus, impatient of the detaining his brother, was eager to pursue and attack those who had carried him off; but Faustulus dissuaded him from it, and on this occasion disclosed to him his birth; a discovery which awakened in his breast sentiments worthy of his high extraction. He resolved at all hazards to attempt the delivering his grandfather and mother from the oppression they were under. And while he was assembling the country people, and disposing every thing for the execution of his design, Numitor made the same discovery to Remus, concerning his parents, and the injustice they suffered, pressed him to revenge it, and then bid him go and send Romulus to his house. Romulus came, and the shepherd Faustulus made haste to follow, taking with him the trough, or skiff, in which the twins had been exposed on the river, in order to shew it to Numitor. But as he entered the gate of the

p. 67, 68.

Plut. in Rom. p. 21.
D. Hal. p. 69.

city, he was stopped by the guards, who perceiving an air of haste and confusion in his looks, imagined he was loaded with something of consequence. By chance there was one among them who had been at the exposing of the children, and employed in the office; he seeing the trough which Faustus could not conceal, and knowing it by its make and inscription, guessed at the business, and without farther delay, telling the king of it, brought in the man to be examined. The shepherd, without losing his presence of mind, confessed what his burthen was, and owned that the twins were living, but pretended that they were feeding flocks in a remote desert. This was gaining time, and the brothers made the best use of it. Remus undertook to raise the city, and Romulus to invest the king's palace. The country people came at the time appointed, and formed themselves into companies of an hundred each. Their ensigns were bundles of hay, hanging upon poles, which the Latines at that time called Manipuli¹, and from thence came the name of Manipulares, which was originally given to troops raised in the country.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 22.

With this tumultuous army Romulus beset the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, slew the tyrant (who had reigned forty-two years) and restored his grandfather to the throne.

Such was the adventure, according to the

¹ Hence came the word Manipulus, for a battalion, which at first consisted of one hundred, afterwards two hundred, and in the decline of the empire, of less than one hundred.

common tradition, by which the birth of Romulus and Remus came to be discovered. Plutarch concludes his account of it with these words: " These are for the most part the relations of Fabius and Diocles Peparethius (who, I think, is the first that writes of the building of Rome) which some suspect to be only fabulous, and invented stories; but they are not wholly to be rejected, if we consider, what strange things fortune sometimes brings about, and also how improbable it is, that the Roman empire could ever have arrived at such a pitch of greatness and power, if the gods had not laid the foundation of it, and given it a miraculous beginning."

XI. NUMITOR, not long after his re-establishment on the throne, finding that Alba was overstocked with inhabitants by the inundation of those rustic troops which Romulus had brought thither, proposed to his grandsons, that they should make a settlement elsewhere. To this Remus and Romulus very willingly consented, and the king gave them for their new settlement those lands near the Tiber, upon which they had been cast by the waves, and where they had been brought up². Numitor also supplied them with all manner of instruments for breaking up ground, and with slaves, and beasts of burthen, and grant-

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 72.

² Plutarch (in Rom. p. 22.) thinks it very possible that Remus and Romulus resolved to seek another habitation, rather through necessity than choice, being probably discountenanced by the people of Alba, who had reason to fear every thing from such a troop of fugitive slaves and outlaws as attended the two brothers.

Dr Hal. B.
1. p. 72.

ed to his subjects full liberty to join the two brothers. Upon which, some of the best families, and among the rest, several who were descended from the Trojans, chose to follow the fortune of Remus and Romulus ; so that even in Augustus's time there were in Rome fifty great families sprung from Trojan ancestors, and which had subsisted there ever since its foundation.

p. 73.

As that handful of people, who came from Alba, were of themselves in no condition to found a colony any thing considerable, the two brothers got together all the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns, and it was thought proper to divide those who were to be employed in building the new city into two companies, one under the command of Romulus, the other of Remus. But this division, which was made purely with a view to the public welfare, and for the better carrying on the work, instead of answering the end proposed, gave birth to two rival factions, and produced a jealousy between the brothers, which broke out when they came to fix upon a place where to plant their colony. Romulus declared for mount Palatine, and Remus for mount Aventine. There was no law whereby they could decide their difference ; nor could either of them pretend a superiority by years or merit. The matter was therefore referred to their grandfather. Numitor being very much prepossessed in favour of augury, with which the Heturians had infected Italy, declared it his opinion, that the contending

parties ought to have recourse to the gods, in order to put an end to a dispute which no man had a right authoritatively to decide; and accordingly they agreed, that it should be determined by the flights of birds³. When the day appointed for the ceremony came, some persons were deputed from both sides to be witnesses of the truth of the auguries, and the two brothers posted themselves each upon his mountain, Remus upon mount Aventine, and Romulus upon mount Palatine. Vulturs were to decide the affair; whoever should first see any of these birds, or see the greater number of them, was to gain his cause; for, said they, these birds are very scarce, and sent by the gods from foreign countries to foretel extraordinary events. Besides, they remembered that Hercules used to judge of the success of his undertakings from the flights of vulturs. When the two rivals had a while gazed round the horizon, watching the appearance of a favourable augury, we are told that Romulus, either to divert his brother's attention, or to secure to himself the public voice by a fraud, sent to tell him that he had seen some vulturs. Whilst the messengers were yet on their way, Remus actually perceived six. He ran therefore to mount Pa-

Plut. in
Rom. p.
22, 23.

³ Augury, or the art of divination, and foretelling future events by the flight, cries, or motions of birds, came from the Chaldeans to the Greeks, from thence it was transmitted to the Hetrurians, and from them to the Latines and the Romans. Vid. Ciceron. de divin. and Orig. l. 4. contra Cels. C. & R.

latine to examine the truth of his brother's augury; and he had no sooner got thither, than by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to Romulus, who instantly cried out in a transport of joy, and pointing to them with his hand, Be judge, be judge yourself, brother, of the truth of what my messengers have told you. Remus nevertheless discovered the cheat; he was informed that Romulus did not see the twelve vulturs, till after he himself had seen six: and then one insisted on the number of birds, the other on the time of seeing them. The people were divided, each man taking the part of his leader; and the dispute growing warm, from words they came at length to blows.

D. Hal. B.
l. p. 74.

The shepherd Faustulus throwing himself unarmed into the crowd to part the combatants, an unlucky blow laid him dead upon the ground; and some historians are of opinion, that Remus lost his life in the same skirmish; but the greater number place his death later, and say that he was slain by one Fabius, who in a passion struck him on the head with a mattock, for having, in derision, leaped over the wall of the new city: and they add, that the murderer was, from this action, afterwards called Celer, i. e. hasty or passionate; but Livy says, the more common report was, that Remus died by his brother's own hand.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 6.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 23.

XII. ROMULUS being now head of the colony, by the advantage of more favourable auguries than those of his brother, or rather by having got the better in the late engage-

ment, applied his thoughts wholly to build the city, which was to be called Roma⁴, in allusion to his name. Mount Palatine was the place chosen for its situation: and the founder on this occasion performed all those ceremonies which the superstition of the Hetrurians had introduced, and made customary at the building of towns. He offered sacrifices to the gods, and ordered all the people to do the same, every man according to his abilities: and from that time decreed that

⁴ Plutarch in his life of Romulus, (p. 17, 18.) says, that authors are not agreed by whom and for what reason the city of Rome was so called; that some are of opinion, the Pelasgians, who had overrun the greater part of the habitable world, fixed themselves there; and from their own military strength (in Greek *Ρωμα*, Roma) called the city by that name; that others say the city was built by some Trojans, who escaping from Troy, were driven upon the coasts of Tuscany, among whom was a woman of distinction named Roma, who engaged the Trojan women to burn the ships they came in, and that the city was called so from her: but that others say the Roma from whom the city had its name, was daughter of Italus and Lucaria, others of Telephus, Hercules's son, and that she was married to Æneas. Others make her the daughter of Ascanius, Æneas's son. The same author speaks of Romanus the son of Ulysses and Circe, Romus the son of Emathion, whom Diomed sent from Troy, and of one Romus a king of the Latines, who drove out the Tuscans; to each of these the building of Rome has been ascribed. Solinus bestows the honour of it upon Evander, and says, that it was in old times called Valentia. Others say, that it was anciently called Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars, witness St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. 3. But Livy and others will have the building of the city to be the work of Romulus, even from the foundation. C. & R.

D. Hal. B.
1. p. 75.

Plut. Ibid.

Plut. in
Rom.
Ibid.

eagles should be the auspices of his new colony. After this, great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themselves. This ceremony over, they dug a trench round that spot where the Comitia or assemblies of the people were afterwards held, and into this trench they threw⁵ the first fruits of whatever they were allowed to make use of for food; besides which, every man of the colony cast in a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or some neighbouring country. This trench they called Mundus (the world) and made it the centre round which the city was to be built. Then Romulus yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was brass, marked out, by a deep furrow⁶, the whole compass of the city; and those two animals (the symbols of marriage, by which towns are peopled) were afterwards slain upon the altars. All the people followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth which the ploughshare sometimes turned outwards: and when they came to those places

⁵ The design of this ceremony was, to admonish the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their principal study to procure for their fellow citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themselves into one body, never to be dissolved. C. & R.

⁶ The ancients oftentimes described the compass of their cities by a train of white earth. We read in Strabo, B. 17. p. 1142. that for want of this earth, Alexander marked out Alexandria with meal. C. & R.

where they intended to make the gates, they took up the plough and carried it. Hence the Latin word, *Porta* a gate, à *portando aratrum*.

The people's throwing inwards the clods of earth, was a significant ceremony, importing that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful lands about them; and withal, how careful the inhabitants ought to be to bring every thing from abroad, which may contribute to the public welfare. The whole length of ground where the plough had passed, was by the ancients looked upon as sacred and inviolable. For this reason it was that they thought themselves obliged to spend the last drop of their blood in defending their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the highest nature. But the gates were not sacred; otherwise, as Plutarch observes, the city could not have been supplied with the necessaries of life, without a breach of the law, nor could the filth, dead bodies, and other things which they reckoned unclean, have been carried away.

As mount Palatine stood by itself, and was not joined to any other hill, the whole was inclosed within the line made by the plough, which formed almost the figure of a square, for which reason D. Hal. calls it *Roma Quadrata*. The walls were built upon this line, which was therefore called *Pomœrium*, according to Plutarch, from *Pone mœnia*: but Livy defines the *Pomœrium* to be that space of ground both within and without the walls, which the augurs at the first building

B. 2. p.
125. &
Plut. p.
22.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 44.

of cities solemnly consecrated, and on which no edifices were suffered to be raised.

⁷ As to the exact year of the foundation of Rome, the historians differ about it. Varro places it in the third year⁸ of the sixth

⁷ Chronologists are not agreed about the exact year of the foundation of Rome. L. Cincius fixes it in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; Fabius Pictor, in the first year of the eighth. Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, in the second year of the seventh olympiad; Portius Cato and others, in the first year of the same olympiad; Marcus Verrius Flaccus, (the supposed author of the Capitoline tables,) and Livy, in the fourth year of the sixth olympiad. But the majority of the best Roman writers follow Varro's calculation, according to which the foundation of Rome is placed near the end of the third year of the sixth olympiad. Petavius contends, that Varro's opinion is the most agreeable to the rules of chronology, Lib. i. de doct. temp. C. & R.

⁸ If Rome was built, as Varro believed, in the third year of the sixth olympiad, it must, as Petavius observes, have been in 3960 or 3961, of the Julian period. For the first olympiad beginning at the summer solstice in 3938, the third year of the sixth olympiad will begin in the summer of 3960, and end in the summer of 3961. And if, as Petavius thinks, Rome was founded in the end of the third year of the sixth olympiad, that will fall in 3961. Father Catrou, in his Rom. Hist. p. 59. says it is incontestable, that Rome was founded 21 April, and yet, that it appears to have been founded in autumn, and that April was then a month in autumn, and was afterwards set back in the calendar. Upon this supposition, the date of the foundation of Rome, according to the Julian period, will be 3960. Yet father Rouille, as we see in the preceding note, which is taken from him, tells us, that the majority of the best Roman writers, following Varro's calculation, place the foundation of Rome in the end of the third year of the sixth olympiad, consequently, if it was in April, April must have been a month in the spring, as it is now,

olympiad, that is, four hundred and thirty-one years after the destruction of Troy, and seven hundred and fifty-three before the beginning of the Christian æra. The Romans, (according to Plutarch, and others) began to build on the twenty-first of April. This day was then consecrated to Pales, goddess of shepherds, so that the festival of Pales, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at Rome on the same day.

When Rome had received near the utmost perfection, which men rude and indigent were able to give it, it consisted only of about one thousand poor huts, which had no upper stories, nor any kind of ornament. The walls even of Romulus's palace were made of rushes, and it was covered with thatch. Every man having chosen his ground to build upon according to his fancy, without any regard to the regularity or beauty of the whole, the streets (if they might be called streets) were both crooked and narrow. Rome, properly speaking, was at first but a sorry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs; and until it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the Gauls, did not deserve the name of a city. Such were the beginnings of the capital of the world.

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Val. Max.
B. 4.

and the year of the foundation of Rome will be 3961 of the Julian period. All the discussions of former writers to fix the exact year of the foundation of Rome seem very idle performances, since the publication of Sir Isaac Newton's book of Chronology.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS.

- I. *Romulus is chosen king of Rome.* II. *He puts on a robe of distinction, and appoints twelve lictors to attend him.* III. *He divides his colony into three tribes, and these into thirty curiæ.* IV. *He distinguishes the people into patricians and plebeians, patrons and clients.* V. *He constitutes a senate.* VI. *He appoints himself a guard of three hundred horsemen called Celeres.* VII. *He settles the respective prerogatives of the king, senate, and people.* VIII. *The religious laws of Romulus.* IX. *His civil laws.* X. *To augment his colony, he opens an asylum for fugitives, slaves, and outlaws.* XI. *The rape of the Sabine women.* XII. *The Sabines endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time Romulus defeats the Cœninenses, slays Acron their king in single combat, and decrees himself a triumph for his victory. He reduces Crustumium and Antemna, and gains other advantages.* XIII. *Romulus's war with the Sabines.* XIV. *He concludes a peace with them, and admits Titus Tatius, their king, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of Tatius are transplanted to Rome, and become one people with the Romans.* XV. *Tatius creates an hundred new senators chosen out of the Sabines. The creation of the first Roman knights. The festival of the Matronalia instituted.* XVI. *The death of Tatius.* XVII. *Romulus defeats the Camerini, Fidenates, and Veientes. He renounces the kingdom of Alba upon the death of Numitor.* XVIII. *The murder of Romulus by the senate, and the artifice of Julius Proculus to appease the people.*

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Romulus
First King.
D. Hal. B.
2. p. 78, 79.

I. AS Romulus had not taken upon him the chief command of the colony for any longer time than while the city was building, he, as soon as the work was finished, submitted the form of its future government to the choice of the people. He called the citizens together, and harangued them in words to this ef-

fect: "If all the strength of cities lay in the height of their ramparts, or depth of their ditches, we should have great reason to be in fear for that which we have built. Are there in reality any walls too high to be scaled by a valiant enemy? And of what use are ramparts in intestine divisions? They may serve for a defence against sudden incursions from abroad; but it is by courage and prudence chiefly, that the invasions of foreign enemies are repelled, and by unanimity, sobriety and justice, that domestic seditions are prevented. Cities fortified by the strongest bulwarks have been often seen to yield to force from without, or to tumults from within. An exact military discipline, and a steady observance of civil policy, are the surest barriers against these evils. But there is still another point of great importance to be considered. The prosperity of some rising colonies, and the speedy ruin of others, have in a great measure been owing to their form of government. Were there but one manner of ruling states and cities that could make them happy, there would be no room for choice. But I have learnt that of the various forms of government among the Greeks and Barbarians, there are three which are highly extolled by those who have experienced them (government by one, by a few, by the many;) and yet, that no one of these is in all respects perfect, but each of them has some innate and incurable defect. Choose you then in what manner this city shall be governed: Shall it

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Romulus
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be by one man? Shall it be by a select number of the wisest among us? Or shall the legislative power be in the people? As for me, I shall submit to whatever form of administration you shall please to establish. As I think myself not unworthy to command, so neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having chosen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours sufficient to content me; honours of which living or dead I can never be deprived."

Thus spake the founder of Rome, by the advice of his grandfather Numitor; and the people, who had been accustomed to kings, having lived easy under them, and having likewise experienced the courage and capacity of Romulus, unanimously chose him to be their king.

As the chief religion of those times lay in the regard paid to the prognostics, which the ⁹augurs and haruspices drew from

⁹ It may not be improper to say something here of the different offices of the haruspices and augurs, of whom frequent mention will be made in the course of this history. The Roman haruspices were all taken at first from Hetruria, where their art had most credit. Afterwards young Romans were sent into Hetruria, to be there brought up in the science. It consisted in fortelling future events, by attending to various circumstances of the victims. First, it was an ill omen, when the victim would not come to the altar without dragging, when it broke its rope, fled away, avoided the stroke, struggled much after it, made a great bellowing, was long a dying, or bled but little. Secondly, presages were drawn from inspecting the noble parts of the victim when opened, as the heart,

thunder, lightning, the wind, the flight of birds, or the entrails of beasts, the prince

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lungs, spleen, and especially the liver. If all these were sound, if the top of the liver was large and well made, and if its fibres were strong, it presaged well for the affair in question. Thirdly, knowledge was also drawn by the haruspices from the manner in which the fire consumed the victim. If the flame brightened immediately, was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed; these were happy signs. Fourthly, the smoke likewise was considered; whether it whirled about in curls, or spread itself to the right or left, or gave a smell different from the common one of boiled meat. Fifthly, it was a lucky omen, if the incense they burned melted all at once, and gave a most agreeable smell.

Of augurs or auspices (very different from the haruspices) Romulus, who was himself skilled in the augural science, established three, one to each tribe. Servius Tullius, who added a fourth tribe, is also said to have added a fourth augur. But their college (for so it was called) was afterwards increased to fifteen, under a head, or master of the augurs. Their offices, comprised in the augural law, which we find in Tully's second book of Divination, were these. They were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with respect to the making war and peace. And, according to the divinity of that time, all were obliged to obey them, in so important an article. They drew their predictions from the different signs, which they said appeared in the air, and upon the earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the intentions of heaven, was deemed unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their decisions. They likewise appointed the expiations they thought necessary, on account of the signs the gods seemed to give of their anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the Roman state; since by pronouncing any affair, any assembly of the comitia, election of magistrates, war or peace, to be disagreeable to the gods, they prevented it.

They pretended to make these discoveries of the will of the gods several ways. First, by the flight, or chirping

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elect, before he ascended the throne, would needs consult the will of the gods by augury.

of birds. Secondly, by thunder or lightning. Thirdly, by the setting of the wind. Fourthly, by the hunger and different postures of chickens which were bred up in cages on purpose for the augur's use, and were carried about in the Roman armies.

When the augur, in the execution of his office, was to observe the heavens, he went up upon some high place ; took the augural staff (which was a sort of crosier, bent at one end) in his hand, and marked out the four quarters of the heavens with it. Then he turned to the east, having the west behind him, the south to his right, and north to his left ; and this is what the Romans called *servare de cælo*. In this situation he waited for a sign, by thunder and lightning, birds, or the wind.

When thunder was heard to the left, when the lightning came from the east, and was driven back by the wind to the same point, without darting forward to the west ; when it did not upon the falling strike into the earth, but rebound towards heaven : these were happy presages.

As to birds : ravens, owls, and such like, were thought to presage things by their croaking and screeching ; but eagles, vultures, and especially woodpeckers, by their flying, which they observed whether it was from the right to the left, or from the left to the right.

As to the wind ; its changes were the matter of observation.

When these sorts of signs failed, recourse was had to the chickens. Betimes in the morning, the augur whose business it was to observe them, and who was thence called Pullarius, (if that name did not rather belong to the keeper of the chickens,) having commanded a general silence, caused the pen to be opened, and threw down a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not immediately run fluttering to the meat ; if they scattered it with their wings ; if they went by without taking notice of it, or if they flew away, the omen was reckoned unfortunate, and to portend nothing but danger or mischance ; but if they leapt presently out of the pen, and fell to so greedily as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the

It is said, that when he had offered sacrifice in an open place, a flash of lightning gleamed from the left, a lucky omen, according to the augural divinity. Be that as it will, it became a custom established by an express law of Romulus, not to raise any person to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any of the public magistracies, nor to undertake any war, till the auspices had been first consulted; and this practice lasted above seven hundred years. For though it owed its origin to nothing but the ignorance of those early ages, the priests and sacrificers persuading the people, that in the flights of birds, and the entrails of beasts, they could plainly read the destinies of men, yet in process of time, it became one of the chief mysteries of state policy, as there will be frequent occasion to observe in the course of this history.

II. ROMULUS being thus declared king of Rome by the voices of the people, and with the approbation of the gods, immediately put on a habit of distinction, to give himself a greater air of majesty. He also appointed twelve lictors or serjeants to attend him whenever he should appear in public, each of them bearing a battle-ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was then the usual symbol of sovereign-

pavement, there was all the assurance in the world of happiness and success. This augury was called *tripudium quasi terripavium*, the old word *pavire* signifying as much as *ferire*. We meet with *tripudium Solistimum* and *tripudium Sonivium* in Festus, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground. The augurs had several other ways of diving into futurity. C. & R. and Kennet.

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D. Hal. p.
80, 81.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 8.

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 78.
Plut. in
Rom. p. 24.

ty in the petty states of ¹Hetruria. But notwithstanding these ensigns of royalty, his power was confined within very narrow limits. For the form of government established by the Romans was, as we shall presently see, a kind of mixt monarchy, the sovereignty being divided between a head or prince of the nation, a senate that was to be his council, and the assembly of the people.

III. ROMULUS having numbered the citizens of Rome, found them to be about three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He divided them into three equal parts, which were called tribes or thirds, each being commanded by its præfect or tribune.

These tribes he divided into ten curiæ or companies of one hundred ²men, each company commanded by an officer, whom Dionysius calls *curio*.

Again, the thirty curiæ were subdivided each of them into ten decuriæ: over which were appointed distinct officers, named decuriones.

¹ Livy (B. 1. c. 8.) thinks, that not only the lictors, and the number of them, were taken from the Hetrurians (who inhabited the country now called Tuscany) but also the *sella curulis*, and the *toga prætexta*.

² Dionysius seems here to differ from Polybius and Varro. These tell us, that this division took place among the squadrons of horse called *turmæ*; which has made Grævius say, p. 7. of the præf. to 1 vol. of Rom. Antiq. that D. Hal. is mistaken. Nevertheless we cannot draw thence a decisive proof against the Greek historian. What was done in later times with respect to the cavalry, does not contradict the order Romulus at first established in the curiæ. C. & R.

As Rome had at first no lands belonging to her, but what she got by cession from the city of Alba, her territory was very small, not above five or six miles in extent. Romulus nevertheless shared it into three parts, but not equal. One was allotted for the expenses of religious worship; another reserved for the king's revenue and the uses of the state; and the third and most considerable was divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty *curiæ*.

IV. THE next thing done by Romulus, was the distinguishing those of the people who were better born, more rich or more eminent for virtue, from the poorer and more ignoble. The former he called³ patricians, the latter plebeians. All dignities, civil, military, and sacerdotal, were to be confined to the former. But to prevent the seditions which such a distinction might produce through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, he endeavoured to engage them to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every plebeian was allowed to choose, out of the body of the patricians, a protector, who should be obliged to assist him with his interest and substance, and defend him from oppression. These protectors were styled

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Strabo, B.
5. p. 351.
Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 82.

p. 83.

p. 84.

³ Dionysius (in this place) says *Πατέρας*, fathers; but this title seems to have properly belonged to the senators only; he himself telling us (p. 85.) that the senators were chosen out of the patricians, which supposes the distinction of patricians and plebeians, before the election of the senators or *patres*. D. Hal. p. 83. 111.

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Plut. p. 25.

D. Hal. p.
84.

p. 85.

‘patrons; the protected, clients. It was the duty of the patron to draw up the contracts of his clients; to extricate them out of their difficulties and perplexities, and to guard their ignorance against the artfulness of the crafty. On the other hand, if the patron were poor, his clients were obliged to contribute to the portions of his daughters, the payment of his debts, and the ransom of him or his children, if they happened to be taken in war. The client and patron could neither accuse, nor bear witness against each other; and if either of them were convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treason, and any one might with impunity slay the offender, as a victim devoted to Pluto and the infernal gods. For more than six

* M. Vertot quoting only Dion. Hal. makes the patrons to be chosen out of the body of the senate, yet Dion. Hal. says, out of the patricians, and he mentions the institution of the patronage before the creation of the senate: and Plutarch (p. 25.) affirms, that the patrons were taken from the wealthier sort, who were not of the senate.

According to Plutarch (p. 24.) the word patron comes originally from one Patro, an Arcadian, a companion of Evander. He was a man very assistant to the defenceless, and a protector to the poor. Be that as it will, the inhabitants of Rome were not the only persons who had their patrons. The colonies, and other cities allied to, or conquered by the Romans, had afterwards their patrons also at Rome. The only alteration in the patronage, as instituted by Romulus, was of the custom of the clients sometimes parting with their goods in favour of their patrons. The Romans thought it unworthy of them to sell their protection. Of this Plutarch assures us, p. 25.

hundred years, we find no dissensions nor jealousies between the patrons and their clients, not even in the times of the republic, when the people frequently mutinied against the great and powerful.

V. THE establishment of a ⁵senate to assist the king in the administration, succeeded the institution of the patronage. Romulus composed it of a hundred men chosen out of the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himself; ⁶he named only the first, who

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 85.

⁵ Plutarch says, (p. 24.) that Romulus styled his hundred counsellors, patricians, and the whole body of them the senate, which signifies properly (says he) a consistory of old men. He adds, some say the patricians were so called, because they were the fathers of legitimate children; others, because they could tell who their fathers were, which every one of the rabble that poured into the city could not do; others from the word *patrocinium*, patronage, because they were the defenders of the poor and weak; but he seems to think it most probable, that they were so styled from the people's calling them and esteeming them as *patres* or fathers, on account of their being so protected by them.

⁶ Livy seems to ascribe the choice of all the senators to the king, when he says (B. 1. c. 8.) that Romulus created one hundred senators: nevertheless it is not clear, that by those words, he meant, that the hundred senators were created by the single authority of the king, and in virtue of his royal prerogative. In whom resided the power of creating senators? is a question which neither Livy nor any of the Latin writers "treat professedly, but touch it only incidentally; and it is natural to all, upon the slight and occasional mention of an event, to ascribe it to the principal agent, concerned in its production; so as to impute the acts of popular assemblies to the prince or ruling magistrate, who convened and presided in them, and had the chief influence perhaps in

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was to be chief governor of the city, whenever the king should be in the field; then each tribe elected three, after which each of the thirty curiæ chose three, which completed the number a hundred senators. They were called *patres*, [fathers] either upon account of their age, or their paternal care of their fellow-citizens. “Those who anciently composed the council of the republic (says Sallust) had indeed bodies enfeebled by years, but their minds were strengthened by wisdom and experience.” Their descendants, to whom alone some appropriate the name of patricians, were the prime nobility among the Romans.

determining the transactions themselves. Thus when Livy tells us that the præfect of the city created the first consuls, [l. 1. c. 60.] and that Brutus, one of these consuls, created P. Valerius, his colleague in that office, [l. 2. c. 2.] or that the interrex, on other occasions, created the consuls, [l. 9. c. 7.] or that the pontifex maximus was ordered by the senate to create the first tribunes, [l. 3. c. 54.] he means nothing more, than that those magistrates called the people together, in order to make such creations, in which they assisted and presided. *Ibi exemplo, pontifice maximo comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt.* [ibid.] And as this is the usual style of all writers, so it is peculiarly of those who write the history of their own country, and for the information of their own people; who have not the patience to treat minutely of things which they suppose to be known to their readers, as well as to themselves: and hence it sometimes happens, that the origin of customs and constitutions of the greatest importance are left dark and obscure, not only to strangers, but even to the natives of later ages.”—Dr. Middleton’s treatise on the Roman Senate, p. 18.

VI. To form a guard for his person, the king made a draught, from each curia, of ten horsemen, the whole number amounting to three hundred. These were called *celeres*, either from their first captain, whose name was Celer, or else upon account of the celerity with which they executed the orders they received. They fought on foot or on horseback, as the occasion required, or the ground would allow⁷.

VII. THE respective powers and privileges of the king, senate, and people, were thus settled:

The king was to be in all religious affairs supreme; he was to be the guardian of the laws and customs, to take cognizance of the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the senate, upon whose decrees he had nevertheless a

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p. 86.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 87.

⁷ Thus far Dion. Hal. concerning the *celeres*. M. Vertot adds, that the state found each of them a horse (*equus*), from which they were called *equites*, and that they were distinguished by a gold ring, and thus he makes these *celeres* or life-guards the first Roman knights, and speaks of them as a kind of middle order, between the patricians and the people. But Dion. Hal. though he mentions the forming of this life-guard, immediately after the creation of the senate, says nothing of the ring, nor of any of those marks by which the equestrian order was afterwards distinguished from other plebeians. And Livy does not mention the creation of any knights till the union of the Romans and Sabines. He seems to think, that the *celeres* or life-guard which Romulus kept in pay in time of peace as well as war, were not formed till towards the end of his reign, when he affected despotism and tyranny. Plutarch seems also of that opinion.

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control. It belonged to the king to convene the senate and the assemblies of the people, propose affairs to them, give his own opinion first, and then do what was concluded upon by the majority. He was also to command the army in time of war with absolute authority; and he had the care of the public money⁸.

The senate were not only to be judges in private causes, but to deliberate upon such public affairs as the king proposed, and to determine by the plurality of voices.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 87.

To the assemblies of the people three things were committed; to create magistrates, make laws, and determine concerning any war that was proposed by the king; yet in all these things the senate's approbation was necessary.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The people for many years gave their voices by *curiæ*, in which every private man had his vote. The majority of votes in each *curia* determined the sense of that *curia*, and what the major part of the thirty *curiæ* agreed to was deemed the resolution of the whole assembly, which assembly was therefore called *Comitia Curiata*.

⁸ M. Vertot says (p. 6. tom. 1.) that he directed the disposal of the public money, which was under the care of two treasurers, afterwards called *quæstors*; but I do not find this in the authors cited by him, and it seems not well to agree with what he himself says (p. 59.) of the institution of two treasurers in the time of *Poplicola*; till then the kings or consuls seem to have had the keeping of the public treasure. See the consulship of *Poplicola* in this history.

Such was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican; the king, the senate, and the people, were in a sort of mutual dependence on each other, from whence resulted a balance of power, whereby the regal prerogative was restrained, a useful authority preserved to the nobles, and the liberty of the people secured.

VIII. ROMULUS considering that the happiness of states depended upon the favour of the gods, which was only to be obtained by the piety and virtue of the people, proceeded to the establishment of religious and civil laws.

With respect to religion, he did not give it all that form in which it afterwards appeared: he only regulated the worship of those divinities which Evander had introduced, of those which Æneas had brought from Phrygia, and of those which the aborigines had honoured in their time. He neither introduced the infamous fables of the Greek divinities into the public faith, nor suffered any licentious ceremonies in the public worship. He appointed that every curia should have its own temple (which was itself called Curia) and its peculiar god and priest; that the people should assemble on certain stated days, in cænacula or public halls built for that purpose, each of which was consecrated to its particular deity, and that they should there feast in common upon the victims offered to the gods. Romulus likewise established festivals, whereby religion became an ease and relief to a laborious people.

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p. 92.

The ministers of the gods were to be at least fifty years old, and none but their wives could perform the functions of priestesses. Their sons, to the age of puberty, were to wait at the altars, and their daughters so long as they continued virgins. The girls were called *camillæ*, the boys *camilli*. When a priest had no children of his own, he might choose the handsomest children in his *curia* to attend him in the sacrifices. To the sacerdotal families were granted distinguishing privileges. The laws exempted them from paying taxes, and from bearing arms. As the priest's office was for life, it excited the ambition of many; but Romulus forbade all intriguing and caballing to obtain it, as also the purchasing it with money, and the trusting it to the hazard of lots. He left to the *curiæ* the free choice of their priests; and as these ministers of religion were laid under an obligation to acquaint themselves with the laws and customs of their country, and to record the principal events that happened in the state, they were its first historians and first lawyers.

IX. As to the civil laws of Romulus, we have only some few fragments of them. The first relates to marriages; it decrees that the wife shall not leave her husband upon any pretence whatsoever, at the same time that it allows the husband to put away his wife⁹, and even

⁹ Plutarch in his life of Romulus says, that if the husband put away his wife for any other cause, but for poisoning his children, counterfeiting his keys, or adultery, he was to give one moiety of his goods to his wife, and consecrate the other to Ceres.

to punish her with death (her relations concurring in the sentence) in case she be convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine¹. Romulus thought it necessary to be thus severe in the article of wine, in order to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as a second drunkenness, and a natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each husband was confined to one wife, and their² goods were in common be-

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A. Gellius,
C. 23. D.
H. p. 95.

¹ This law was so severely observed, that, according to Valerius Maximus, B. 6. *de Severitate*, Egnatius Metellus, who caught his wife drinking wine, and killed her upon the spot, was neither brought to a trial, nor censured for it: and Fabius Pictor mentions another woman whom her relations starved to death, for having broke open the chest in which were the keys of the cellar. Aulus Gellius and Pliny likewise assure us, that in consequence of this law, it was customary at Rome for the ladies to be saluted by their near relations whenever they met them, not so much out of civility and friendship, as to find out by their breath whether they had been drinking wine. But in process of time, the severity of this law was somewhat abated. Women who had drunk wine were only condemned to lose their portions. C. & R.

² This community of goods was thus expressed in the marriage ceremonies: The persons to be married came to a sacrifice, in presence of ten witnesses; and the priest, among other offerings, presented a wheat loaf, and scattered pieces of it over the victim. This was to shew that bread, the symbol of all other goods, should for the future be in common between the husband and wife; and this rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence it is said in Romulus's law, *Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra et bona ejus venit*. It appears likewise by the same law, that the wife, upon marriage, professed the same gods, and the same worship with her husband; both as to the household gods of each family, and the respective god of each curia. The laws

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 96.
Ibid. & p.
97.

tween them, but under the administration of the husband. The wife was declared universal heiress³ to her husband, if he died intestate, and without children; but if he had children by her, they were to be equal sharers with her in the inheritance. It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the power given to husbands to put away their wives, there was no instance of a divorce among the Romans for five hundred and twenty years.

Nothing ever equalled the severity of the law which Romulus made in relation to children. He gave their fathers an absolute power over them. A father by his own private au-

add, *jus devortendi ne esto*, i. e. let not the husband have an absolute and unlimited power of divorcing his wife. This is the strict meaning of *devortendi*; but it is also sometimes used to signify a power of refusing to accept the person who had only been betrothed. C. & R.

³ This is what D. Hal. says of the wife's interest (in Romulus's time) in the husband's effects after his decease. But this law is not among those of Romulus, which now remain. There were two sorts of marriages among the Romans: the first was to marry their wives without any other covenant, but that of keeping them in their houses. But these were not truly wives, till they had continued with their husbands a whole year, without three days interruption: and this was called a marriage by use, *usu*. The other way was, to marry a woman after marriage covenants had been made; and this was called a marriage by mutual sale, *ex coemptione*. In this case the woman gave her husband three pieces of money called asses, to express that she purchased of him a right of sharing in his goods; and the husband gave the wife the keys of the house, to shew he committed to her the care of the family. These latter only were called mothers of families, *matres familias*; and it is probable, that they only were sole heiresses to their husbands. C. & R.

thority could imprison his children, put them to death, and even sell them for slaves three times over, of whatever age they were, or to whatever dignity they had arrived .

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Rom. p. 32.

Plutarch observes it as a singular thing in Romulus, that, calling all murder parricide, he ordained no punishment for real parricide, believing it an impossible crime ; and indeed for near six hundred years, it was not once known in Rome.

By another law of Romulus, who knew that the power of a state consists not so much in the extent of its territory, as in the number of its people, it was made criminal to kill an enemy who yielded, or so much as to sell him. His chief view in making war was to conquer men, being sure of not wanting lands, if he did not want troops.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 88.

As this prince was of opinion, that the sedentary arts and occupations emasculate men's minds, and enervate their bodies, he permitted none but strangers or slaves to be employed in them. He confined the citizens to the two professions of war and agriculture ; and considering the ill consequences that might arise from dividing the employments, he made every Roman of free condition exercise both.

p. 98.

⁴ In case a child was born with any monstrous deformity, the father might make away with it ; but if it was a son, or an eldest daughter, he was first to advise with five of his neighbours ; if he did not observe this rule, the half of his goods were confiscated to the public use. Instit. (Justin. B. 1.) C. & R.

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B. 2. p. 88.

Liv. B. 1.
c. 8.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 22.

X. **THUS** was the colony settled; and the form of its government, and the wisdom of its laws, attracted strangers to Rome from all parts. But what contributed most to people the city, was an asylum or sanctuary of refuge, which Romulus opened for runaway slaves, homicides, outlaws, and persons plunged in debt. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the king's policy. This sanctuary was dedicated to a new sort of divinity, called the Asylæan god, under whose protection all sorts of criminals and discontented persons who fled from their own countries to Rome were to live securely. Romulus made them all soldiers, and Rome in a little time became formidable to her neighbours. The Romans wanted nothing but women to secure the duration of their state. The king therefore sent deputies to the Sabines⁵, and the other neighbouring nations, to propose alliances with them by marriages of their daughters with his Romans. He represented to them, that new colonies were not always contemptible, and that the gods had hitherto shewn favour enough to Rome, to make it no dishonour to enter into

⁵ The Sabines possessed that part of Italy which lies between the Tiber, the Teverone, and the Apennines. They inhabited divers little towns, some of which were governed by petty princes, and others only by magistrates, and in form of a republic; but though their particular governments were different, they were all united by a kind of league and community which formed the several societies of that nation into one state. The Sabines were some of the nearest neighbours to Rome.

alliances with her. But as the Sabines had begun to look upon Romulus's new settlement with a jealous eye, they absolutely rejected his proposal, and some of them added raillery to the refusal, asking the deputies why their prince did not open an asylum for vagrant women, and slaves of that sex, as he had done for men: your people then, said they, will be well matched; a pack of vagabond and loose women will make the fittest wives for a crew of fugitives loaded with crimes or debts.

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Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

XI. WHEN this insulting answer was brought to Rome, Romulus heard it with the quickest resentment, resolving to be revenged, and to take away the daughters of the Sabines by force. He communicated his design to the senate, and had their approbation of it. The only question was, how to succeed in the enterprize. It happened, or so it was pretended, that as workmen were digging in a field near Rome, they found a subterraneous altar dedicated to the god Consus, or the god of council, who is the same with the Equestrian Neptune⁶. The discovery of this altar furnished Romulus with a pretext to proclaim a festival and public sports in honour of the god. He notified the day he had fixed for these games⁷ to the neighbouring towns, and

Ibid.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 25.

⁶ See page 12.

⁷ As to the nature of these games, it is probable they chiefly consisted of races, wrestling, and the like, since this was the manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the Consualia, which were perpetuated at Rome in

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made all the pompous preparations for them, that the poverty of his colony would admit.

Those of the Sabines who lay nearest to Rome flocked thither in crowds upon the day appointed for the solemnity, as Romulus had foreseen they would ; no small numbers came also from the little towns of Cœnina, Crustumerium, and Antemnæ. The strangers were received by the Romans with great demonstrations of joy. Every citizen had his guest, whom, when he had treated him in the best manner he could, he conducted and placed where he might conveniently see the sports. The peace and harmony that continued for some days⁸, lulled the strangers into security; for the Romans did not put their enterprize in execution till the last day of the festival. They had received orders to come armed that day, but to conceal their arms under their clothes. When the multitude were most attentive to the show, Romulus, who presided at it in a striped robe called *trabea*⁹, rising

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 99.
Plut. in
Rom. p. 25.

In Rom.
p. 26.

memory of this first show given by Romulus, and according to Plutarch, annually observed on the 18th of August, because the rape of the Sabines was on that day. C. & R.

⁸ The festival began in the beginning of the month Sextilis, and did not end till the twentieth. Reckoning from March, which was the first month of the year in Romulus's calendar, the sixth month was August, which was for that reason called Sextilis, even after the regulations made by Numa Pompilius and Julius Cæsar. C. & R.

⁹ The learned have wearied themselves with enquiries about the habits of the ancient Romans, especially the *trabea*. All things considered, Dion. Hal. and other ancient authors, incline one to believe it was very like the

from his seat, gathered up his robe, and threw it over his body. This was the signal agreed upon. Instantly the Romans drawing their swords, rushed in among the strangers, and seized their daughters. The men being unarmed and terrified, ran away, and the Romans who had no design of shedding blood, let the fathers and mothers depart in safety. In the hurry of the action, some Romans of distinction perceiving a body of their people carrying off a young woman of singular beauty, envied them so fine a prey, and attempting to take her from them, the latter cried out *Thalassio, Thalassio*, meaning that the young person was designed for *Thalassius*¹,

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p. 26.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

toga; with this difference, that it was adorned with stripes of purple at due distances, on a white ground. This was the ordinary habit of the kings of Rome: and it will hereafter appear, that the chief magistrates of the republic, and the Roman knights, appeared in it, on certain days of ceremony. But there was likewise another sort of *trabea* worn only by the augurs; of which more in its place. C. & R.

¹ This is the opinion of Livy and Plutarch. Varro, as quoted by Sex. Pompeius, differs from them. He thinks the word *Thalassio* anciently signified those little baskets in which the ladies put their work to this day. As the Sabine virgins would not afterwards give themselves voluntarily to the Romans, but on condition that they should only be obliged to work in wool, they carried little baskets to their husbands' houses, on the day of marriage, to put their work in. Others say (Plut. p. 26.) *Thalassio* was the word Romulus had agreed to pronounce, when the Romans were to begin the rape. And indeed this cry suited very well with the god of the sea, whose festival they then celebrated: and therefore the poets always give him the surname of *Thalassios*. Aristophanes speaking of Neptune, calls him *Θαλάσσιος Ποσειδῶν*. C & R.

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 96.

a brave and worthy Roman, much esteemed in the colony; and hence it was, that the crying out *Thalassio* became customary at Rome in the marriage ceremony, as *Hymen* and *Hymenæa* prevailed among the Greeks.

p. 100.

As this violence had been dictated by public necessity, rather than brutal passion, Romulus's orders are said to have been observed with great exactness; he had forbid any further attempts upon the women, till marriages should be solemnized in form. For this purpose he commanded the Sabine virgins (for they were all called Sabine, because the greater number was of that nation) to be brought into his presence the next day. They were by this time a little recovered from their fright, and the king comforted them under the loss of their relations by words to this effect:

Livy, B. 1.
c. 9.

“The Romans have not used this violence with an intention to dishonour, but to marry you; such methods of procuring wives are ancient in Greece, and, to women, more honourable than any other. Soften therefore the fierceness of your anger, impute our offence to your own fathers, who scornfully rejected our civil requests, and surrender your hearts to those men to whom fortune has given possession of your persons. Wrongs and injuries are often the forerunners of love and friendship; you will find your husbands behave themselves with so tender an affection, as shall leave you no cause to regret the loss of either your parents or your country.” To

these words of the king the young men added caresses and flatteries, pleading violent love in excuse of their fault; love, of all pleas, says Livy, the most easily admitted by womankind.

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After this, Romulus without delay married the women to his Romans by the same form, which was ever after used in marriages, “Partake ye of your husband’s fire and water²:” and it was not long before they experienced the truth of what Romulus had foretold them. The merit and fondness of their husbands made them forget their native country and their fathers’ houses.

As to the number of these Sabine women, some historians make them to have been six hundred and eighty-three, others five hundred and twenty-seven, and others reduce them to thirty, the number of the curiæ, deriving the word curia from Cures, the name of the town of

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 100.
Plut. p. 25.

² It is an ancient historical tradition, that the brides never stepped upon the threshold, when they went into their husband’s houses. They were held up to prevent it.

*Turritâque premens frontem matrona coronâ
Translatâ vitat contingere limina plantâ.*

Phars. B. 2.

Varro indeed contends, that it was out of respect to this part of the house which was consecrated to Vesta: but Plutarch (p. 26.) says, it was to shew, that the first marriages were made by rapes. And from hence, say some authors, comes the custom of parting the hair of the new married women with the point of a lance. This was intended to shew, that iron and violence gave the first Romans their wives: and the truth of this custom seems to be confirmed by Ovid, in these words,

Comat virgineas hasta recurva comas.

C. & R.

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 110.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 26.

which the women were for the most part natives; but no eminent historian is of this opinion.

But whatever was their number, it is agreed, that among them all, there was only one married woman; whose name was Hersilia. She either was mistaken for a virgin, or, as some say, would not leave her only daughter. Zenodotus, a Greek historian, mentioned by Plutarch, says, that Romulus made her his wife, and had a daughter by her named Prima, because she was his first child, and a son named Abilius. But other writers contend, that Hersilia was married to a noble Roman named Hostus, and that Tullus Hostilius the third king of Rome descended from her.

XII. THE Sabines are held by some to have been a colony of Lacedæmonians, transplanted into Italy; and it is not improbable. At least the moderation, wisdom, and frugality of these two nations, gave them a great resemblance to each other. Their state was a pretty extensive one, if compared with the little neighbouring sovereignties; but the people lived mostly in villages that were open on all sides, or only enclosed with palisades. And therefore, though their courage excited them to revenge the affront they had received in the persons of their daughters; yet their prudence made them seek to repair their honour by a treaty, before they would run the hazard of a war. They sent to demand the restoration of their daughters, promising on that condition to enter into a friendly and neighbourly alliance with the Romans. But Ro-

mulus was inflexible. He on his part demanded, that the Sabines should confirm the marriages of his Romans, which were made indeed by violence, but a violence that was become necessary. Whilst the treaty, which went on slowly, suspended hostilities on both sides, Acron, whom the historians call king³ of Cænina, prevented the Sabines, and took the field before them. He was a man of valour, and had signalized himself in many battles. He thought the neighbourhood of the Romans, which had given him jealousy from their first establishment, was now indeed become formidable since the audacious rape committed upon the Sabine women, and that it was necessary to crush, in its infancy, a colony which otherwise would increase in strength as it grew in age : and for this reason he solicited the Sabines, as also the inhabitants of ⁴Crustumium and Antemnæ, to join their forces with his. Their slowness

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 101.

³ Cænina was situated on the confines of Latium and Sabinia. Plutarch and Stephens make it a city of the Sabines ; but the authority of Livy, Dion. Hal. and Festus, who think this a city of ancient Latium, is against them. Cluverius thinks, that Cænina was on this side the Anio, four miles from Rome. Holstenius places it beyond that river, in the neighbourhood of Monticelli. C. & R.

⁴ Crustumium and Antemnæ were either subject to, or in the neighbourhood of Sabinia. Some geographers think the former was situated near the place where Marcigliano Vecchio now stands. They place the latter upon the Tiber, almost between the Tiburtine and Nomantine ways. But it is uncertain where they stood. Plutarch (p. 27.) says, that Fidenæ made a league with Crustumium and Antemnæ, against the Romans. C. & R.

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made him impatient. He imagined he could without their help subdue a handful of men, got together in a city newly founded, and very little fortified: but the march of his army had more the air of an incursion of robbers, than of a regular expedition. The Cæninenses having ravaged the lands of Rome, Romulus did not confine himself within his walls: he instantly marched out against the enemy, and joined battle with them in the open field, where the Romans fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the hopes of posterity. In the heroic times it had been a common custom, and it was not yet abolished, for the two commanders in the heat of an engagement mutually to provoke each other with their eyes and voices to single combat: upon which the armies opened, and left a space where their leaders were to fight. Romulus and Acron challenged each other, and on this occasion the former made a vow to Jupiter, that if he came off conqueror, he would erect a trophy⁴ to him

Plut. in
Rom. p. 27.

⁴The use of trophies, especially among the Greeks, is immemorial. It was customary to erect them upon the field of battle. The ancient trophies consisted of a post, a stake, or a trunk of a tree dressed up with the spoils of the enemy. The figures of them are to be seen on several medals, which were struck after the gaining of great and important victories. In after-times, conquerors erected pillars of brass, or marble, or stone, and towers, and triumphal arches, with inscriptions to perpetuate the memory of their victories. But according to Plutarch in his Roman questions, those who first made use of marble and brass for trophies were abhorred, because, says he, it seemed inhuman to transmit

of the spoils of the conquered. As impressions of religion frequently exalt a man's courage, the young king performed the hero so well, that he slew his enemy, an experienced warrior, and stripped him of his armour. The death of Acron was followed by the rout of the Cæninenses; and Romulus pursued them to their town, which they had of late slightly fortified. The Romans entered it with the runaways, and took it without opposition. And then did the conqueror give a signal proof both of his moderation and his good policy. He spared the blood of the conquered, and contented himself with ⁵razing Cænina, and carrying the inhabitants to Rome, to augment his colony: and the establishment he gave them, upon the same foot with his first citizens, became a precedent to himself, which he ever after followed on the like occasions. And now, either out of ostentation, or to animate his people with an ardent love of glory, he celebrated his victory with a new kind of pomp. He decreed himself the honours of a triumph⁶;

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the shame and misfortunes of people to future ages: and he adds, that in consequence of this, they would not suffer the triumphal arches to be repaired. These monuments were generally dedicated to some divinity. C. & R.

⁵ If we may believe Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Romulus preserved the city, and gave the inhabitants their choice, either to stay at home or settle at Rome: and the same author adds, that the conqueror thought fit to send a colony of three hundred Romans to Cænina. C. & R.

⁶ This was the first Roman triumph. The word comes originally from *ἑρταμβος*, one of the names of Bacchus,

p. 103.

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for so was called the reception given to generals at their return from successful expeditions. Nor is it improbable, that this example of Romulus's triumph excited the emulation of succeeding commanders, and contributed as much as any thing to the conquest of the world : but the preparations for this ceremony were suitable to the poverty of the Romans in those days : Romulus did not ride in a chariot, but entered Rome on foot⁷, with his troops marching some before and some after him. His long hair flowed upon his shoulders, and his head was crowned with laurel. He had fixed the spoils of Acron to the trunk of a small oak, and covered it with them. This trophy represented a man armed, which the king carried in triumph on his right shoulder. All the people came out of the city to meet the conqueror,

who conquered the Indies ; and who, according to Pliny and Diodorus Siculus, first received the honours of a triumph. They who followed the conquerors, made the air resound with this name of Bacchus ; whence the acclamation, *Io Triumphe !* which is thus expressed by Horace :

*Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphe !
Non semel dicemus Io Triumphe !
Civitas omnis.*

The order, laws, and pomp of the ancient triumphs will be spoken of hereafter. C. & R.

⁷ Dion. Hal. (p. 102.) represents Romulus as carried in a chariot drawn by four horses, *τεθρίππων παρεμ βεβηκώς*, during the ceremony of his triumph ; but Plutarch (p. 27.) and Zonaras affirm, that the elder Tarquin was the first that triumphed, drawn in a chariot : and the former of those writers says, there were statues at Rome in his time representing Romulus on foot loaded with his trophy.

singing his praises ; and lined the road on both sides. As soon as he entered Rome, they presented him wine, and before the houses spread tables for those of the soldiers who wanted to refresh themselves. Romulus proceeded in the same order he entered the city, to the hill Saturnius, where, after the procession was over, he erected a small temple of only ten feet long, and five broad : and here the triumphant victor deposited his trophy, consecrating it to Jupiter * Feretrius⁸. This name was then given to Jupiter, because Romulus had himself carried thither the present he had vowed : and a name of distinction was likewise given to the spoils of the king of Cænina ; they were called ⁹*opima spolia*, because they were more

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* a ferendo.

⁸ Plutarch (p. 27.) derives the word Feretrius from *ferire* to strike ; and supports his conjecture by Romulus's prayer to Jupiter to strike Acron. But this interpretation does not very well agree with what he says in another place, that the Greek tongue was in use in the reign of Romulus. What he says in his life of Marcellus, is most probable, namely, that Feretrius came originally from *φέρετρον*, which signifies any machine for carriage. C. & R.

⁹ Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces ; so that *opima spolia*, according to him, signifies rich spoils. But Plutarch (p. 27.) derives it from *opus*, as if one had said spoils difficult to be obtained. This name was given only to such spoils as the general of the Roman army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops ; at least this is Plutarch's opinion. Though Varro assures us, that not only a subaltern officer, but even a common soldier might make a trophy of the spoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the enemy's army. In the space of about five hundred and thirty years after Romulus, only Cornelius Cossus and Claudius Marcellus are recorded to

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Plut. in
Rom. p. 27.
Livy, B. I.
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D. Hal. p.
104.

honourable than any other, being taken by the general of the Roman army, from the general of the enemy's army, after he had killed him with his own hand.

Not long after this, Romulus, with one legion levied in haste, subdued the Antemnates and Crustumini, who had taken arms on the same account as the Cæninenses. Hersilia, who was of Antemnæ, interceded with him for her countrymen; and as lenity suited best with the king's policy, having first consulted with the senate, he transplanted the inhabitants of both the conquered cities to Rome, where they were admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizenship; and he sent colonies from thence into their towns. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became so great, that several cities of Hetruria voluntarily submitted to him. Cælius an Hetrurian leader brought to Rome all the troops under his command, and settled on a hill near the city,

have had the glory of carrying off this sort of spoils.
C. & R.

¹ The word legion comes from *legere*, which signifies to choose. And indeed the Roman legions were all chosen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as will be occasionally observed in the course of this history. It is sufficient to observe here, that when Livy says, Romulus led one legion against the Antemnates, he must be understood to mean, that he led three thousand foot and three hundred horse against them; which were then the best part of the Roman forces. Plutarch (p. 24.) says, that the Roman legion consisted at that time of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. C. & R.

which from him took the name of Mount Cælius.

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Romulus was now obliged to enlarge the bounds of Rome. The city had hitherto contained only the hill Palatinus, which was encompassed with a square wall: but upon this augmentation of inhabitants, it spread itself to the capitol, then called the hill Saturnius; and on the top of that hill they built a citadel, which was committed to the government of a noble Roman named Tarpeius; it was surrounded on all sides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and the country. They likewise built a wall from the foot of the hill Saturnius to the Tiber, and opened a gate in it which they called Carmentalis.

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XIII. BUT this increase of the Roman forces and fortifications did not terrify the Sabines.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 105.

They sent a second deputation to Romulus, to demand back their daughters, and upon his refusal, they marched towards Rome with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of their king Titus Tatius. The troops which Romulus led against them, are said to have been not much inferior in number, for he received supplies from his grandfather Numitor, and from Hetruria; the Hetrurians being commanded by one Lucumo a brave warrior, or rather by one of their twelve Lucumones or governors. Romulus posted his army on the hills Esquilinus and Quirinalis.

The Sabines advanced in good order, and

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encamped at the foot of the hill Saturnius, in that plain, since called the Campus Martius. Tatius seeing all the posts guarded, was extremely uneasy about the success of his enterprize : but an unforeseen adventure extricated him out of his difficulties. As the Sabines were roaming round the hill, to find a passage whereby they might get into the citadel, the governor's daughter, named Tarpeia, who went accidentally to draw water for a sacrifice, was much taken with the bracelets and rings with which the enemies were adorned. She therefore privately sent one of her maids to desire a conference with the Sabine general ; and at night Titus Tatius came to the postern-gate that had been shewn him, and agreed to give Tarpeia what the soldiers wore on their left arms, provided she would facilitate their entrance into the citadel, by that very gate. It is probable the young woman, whose eyes were at first so dazzled with the ornaments of the Sabines, repented of her treachery : and then, in order to turn the stratagem against the Sabines themselves, she sent to Romulus, desiring a strong body of troops to oppose Tatius, who expected to enter the citadel the night following, by a gate that she was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened that the messenger proved a traitor, went to the camp of the Sabines, and informed them of the ambush that was laying for them. Tatius did not fail of being at the gate at the time appointed, but with a greater body of men than Tarpeia

expected. As soon as it was opened, he led in his troops and made himself master of the citadel: and then the Sabines are said to have crushed Tarpeia to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking themselves to have discharged their promise by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms.

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From her the hill Saturnius took the name of Tarpeius, which it retained till it got that of Capitolinus (from the head of one Tolus, which was found there when workmen were digging to lay the foundations of a temple to Jupiter). And even then, the steepest part of it, down which criminals were thrown, continued to be called the Tarpeian rock.

The Sabines, now masters of the citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more security. For a long time, only light skirmishes past between the two parties without much advantage on either side. At length both armies resolved to come to a general engagement. The first action (which the night put an end to) determined nothing, the success being equal on both sides. In a second, the Romans at the beginning had the advantage, in both wings commanded by Romulus and the Lucumo, till a brave Sabine, named Metius Curtius, who commanded the main body of the Sabine army, turned the scale in favour of his countrymen. He broke into the centre of the Roman army, and, with design to give the wings of the Sabines an opportunity of rallying, pursued it to the very gates of Rome. Romulus, seeing this, pressed

D. Hal. p.
107.

p. 108.

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no longer after that wing of the Sabines, which he had forced to give ground, but immediately faced about, and hastened to attack Curtius; who making a gallant resistance, facilitated the retreat of his countrymen toward their camp. At length Romulus met him and engaged him in single combat. Curtius being now wounded in several places, and unable to maintain the fight, threw himself into a lake which was made by the inundation of the Tiber, because on all the other sides he was surrounded by enemies. This lake was very full of mud towards the banks, and the water was deep in the middle; so that Romulus, thinking his enemy could not escape perishing, returned to the pursuit of the Sabines. But Curtius, though encumbered with his armour, got safe out of the water, and left his name to the place; it was ever after called ²Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman forum.

p. 109.

Romulus, upon his return to his army, pushed the enemy with such vigour, that they fled in confusion, and took refuge in the citadel. The Romans followed them, and, flushed with their success, expected to have retaken it. But the Sabines rolling great stones from the top of the hill, one of them hit Romulus on the head, and stunned him, so

² Procilius says, that the Lacus Curtius was so called from the famous Curtius, who leaped into the gulph that opened in that place. And others think that it received its name from Curtius the consul (colleague to M. Genu-tius) who walled it in.

that falling down senseless, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident revived the courage of the Sabines; the Romans were put to flight in their turn, and pursued to the very gates of Rome. However, Romulus having by this time recovered his senses rallied his troops, put himself again at their head, and drove the enemy back to the citadel.

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We are told that in the most critical minute of the day, when the Romans were flying before the enemy, Romulus made a vow to Jupiter, in order to obtain his favour for the speedy rallying of his troops, and that, as fortune would have it, they stopped at the sight of their general, upon his return to the field of battle. Out of a belief therefore, that this was a particular blessing of heaven, he erected a temple to Jupiter, whom he called Stator, because the Romans recovering from their fright made a stand, and faced the enemy. Livy and Plutarch say, that in this very moment the Sabine women coming out of the city with their hair dishevelled, and their children in their arms, threw themselves between the two armies, and by their tears and intreaties put a check to the fury of their fathers and husbands. But Dionysius gives a different and more probable account of the part which those women had in the reconciling of the two nations.

Aurel. Victor, &c.

B. 1. c. 13.
Plut. p. 29.

XIV. NEITHER Romulus nor Tatius was very forward to hazard another engagement. The Sabines, who remained masters of the

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 109.

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p. 110.

citadel, debated whether they should content themselves with only ravaging the lands of the Romans, and then return home ; or should send for new levies from Sabinia to continue the war, till it could be finished with more advantage. The Romans, on their side, were no less doubtful and undetermined what to do. Their enemies they knew to be a powerful nation, that could more easily repair its loss than they could theirs. But, on the other hand, could the Romans with honour restore the women? Would not that be a confession of weakness which might render the Sabines more haughty and more difficult to treat with? Whilst both parties were thus deliberating and in suspense, the women for whose sake the war had been undertaken, met together without the knowledge of their husbands, and, at the persuasions of Hersilia, formed a design of mediating between the two nations. Before they could put their project in execution it was necessary to get it approved by the king and senate ; this, in the present conjuncture of affairs, they found no difficulty to effect. A decree was passed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they proposed, on condition however that they left their children behind them ; yet those who had several were allowed to take one or more with them, as it might be a means to promote the success of their enterprize.

The women being thus authorized, laid aside their ornaments, put on mourning, took some of their children in their arms, and leav-

ing the city, advanced towards the camp of the Sabines. They no sooner arrived there, but casting themselves at the feet of their relations and countrymen, they by their tears and lamentations excited a general compassion. King Tatius having assembled his chief officers in council, and ordered the women to declare the intention of their coming, Hersilia, in the name of her companions, is said to have made a long and pathetic speech to this effect :

“ If it be love to us which has moved you to begin the war, the same love should now induce you to put an end to it. It is true, we were unjustly forced away from our parents by the men who are now our husbands ; but you neglected so long to revenge the injury, that we became engaged, by the strictest ties of affection, to those whom at first we hated : we are full of anxiety for them when they are fighting, and we lament their deaths when they fall in battle. You do not now come to vindicate the honour of virgins, but to tear away wives from their husbands, and mothers from their children ; this is not to rescue us, it is to make us a second time captives.”

When she had thus spoken, she begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity to treat of an accommodation. As the Sabines wanted only a pretence to lay aside their resentments, they readily accepted the proposal, and soon after the two kings had a conference, which ended to the satisfaction of both parties. A treaty of union was made and confirmed by oath.

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D. Hal. B.
2. p. 111.

Plut. p. 30.

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in Popl. p.
97.

It was agreed, that both the kings should reside in Rome, and be equal in power; that as many of the Sabines as were willing might come hither and be incorporated in the tribes and *curiæ*; that their common city should continue to be called Rome, but that the Romans should take the name of *Quirites*³, till then peculiar to the Sabines; and that the latter should be admitted to public offices both civil and religious. Three considerable Sabine families are particularly mentioned to have followed the example of their king, and settled at Rome. The head of one of them was Valerius Volesus (to whom Plutarch gives the honour of negotiating the peace); of another, Talus Tyrannus; and of the third, that Metius Curtius who had signalized himself

³ Dion. Hal. says, that each particular citizen was to be called *Romanus*, and the collective body of them *Quirites*; yet it appears by this ancient form of words used at funerals, *Ollus Quiris letho datus est*, that each private citizen was also called *Quiris*.

The origin of the word *Quirites*, which was at first peculiar to the Sabines, and became, in Romulus's time, the general name of the inhabitants of Rome, has been much sought for; and the most probable account antiquity gives us of them, is this. The word *Quiris*, according to Plutarch (p. 36.) and some others, signified in the Sabine language, both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god. But be that as it will, this *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was either Mars, or some other god of war; and the worship of *Quiris* continued in Rome all Romulus's reign; but after his death, he was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, and took the place of the god *Quiris*. C. & R.

so much in the last battle : and these brought with them a multitude of their relations and dependants.

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XV. BY this treaty, which so considerably increased the colony, Rome became formidable. Dion. Hal. tells us that the number of the new inhabitants equalled that of the old. Tatius, that he might imitate and equal Romulus in all respects, formed a council of a hundred senators of his own nation. They were styled fathers, and enjoyed the same privileges with those who had been instituted by the founder of Rome. The Roman and Sabine senators held their first assemblies on affairs of state separately, at the houses of their respective kings. But afterwards they all met together, near the temple of Vulcan, in a place which, because the Sabines and Romans went thither to form one assembly, was called Comitium⁴, place of meeting.

D. Hal. B.
2. p. 111.

Plut. in
Rom. p. 30.

And now, according to Livy, were formed the three centuries of Roman⁵ knights, called

⁴ *A coeundo, quasi comeundo.* The Comitium was part of the Forum at Rome ; and was at the foot of the hill Palatinus, over against the capitol. C. & R.

⁵ Originally the knights alone formed the body of the Roman or legionary cavalry. They, who aspired to the honour of being admitted into this order on account of their fortunes or birth, often served in the army as volunteers ; with this difference, that the state furnished the former with horses out of the public treasury, whereas the latter were obliged to furnish themselves with horses at their own costs. This custom continued to the time of Marius. Then Rome had recourse to her allies, to supply the deficiency of the Roman knights ; and from that time,

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⁶Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres. The first had its name from Romulus ; the second from

the provinces furnished as many horse, as were wanted to recruit the legions. Indeed the equestrian order never had any settled form, till after the census appointed by Servius Tullus. They who had the honour of being joined to them, engaged themselves to be soldiers by profession. They fought equally on foot or on horseback, as occasion or the disposition of the ground required. They were sometimes posted in the advanced guard, sometimes in the centre, but more frequently in the wings, of each legion. But in length of time this illustrious body degenerated, and the Roman knighthood became a bare title of honour. Those who enjoyed it, were distinguished from the plebeians, by a gold ring they wore on their fingers. In the latter times of the republic, the Roman knights were no more confined to war, than any other citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the public taxes, under the name of publicans. C. & R.

⁶ Varro, Plutarch, and Festus give the same names to the three tribes established by Romulus, which Livy gives to these three centuries of knights drawn out of the tribes. They are easily reconciled, if we will suppose each century to bear the name of its respective tribe. Dion. Hal. dates the division of the colony into tribes, from the first year of Rome. Plutarch brings it down to the time of this union of the Romans with the Sabines. And what can we infer from these different accounts, but that Romulus instituted the tribes from the beginning of his reign, thereby to settle his form of government ; and that each tribe had no particular name, till after the conclusion of his treaty with Tatius. What confirms this conjecture, is, that the second tribe was called Tatiensis, or Titiensis, from the name of Titus Tatius. Some authors indeed give all the three names, Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres, an Etrurian derivation. But the generality of historians agree in calling the colony of the inhabitants of Alba that went to Rome with Romulus, Ramnenses ; and so they do,

the Sabine king; and the third from the lucus or grove where the asylum stood, and where the knights of this century had formerly dwelt. These three bodies of horse were incorporated into the Roman legions, which, according to Plutarch, consisted from this time of⁷ six thou-

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Liv. B. 1.

c. 13.

Plut. in

Rom. p. 30.

in calling the second tribe Tatienses. The others who fled into the asylum, were called Luceres, if we may believe Festus, from Lucerus, king of Ardea, who, according to him, joined with Romulus against the Sabines. C. & R.

⁷The most learned critics have observed, that Plutarch is mistaken, when he says (p. 30.) the Roman legion consisted of six thousand foot and six hundred horse, after the conclusion of the treaty between Romulus and Tatius. But it is probable, that Plutarch meant no more, than that Romulus formed two legions, of the two united nations, which consisted each of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Αἱ λεγιῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἵππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. And by the help of the same interpretation, we may explain Dion. Hal.'s saying, that Romulus incorporated into his legion, or army, three thousand of the Cæninenses and Antemnates. Though it were true, as some authors conjecture, that each legion did consist of above three thousand three hundred men at this time; yet it is certain, that, ordinarily, it did not exceed four thousand foot; for which reason, Festus calls a legionsquare; though this denomination owed its origin to their order in battle. I say, ordinarily, because on some occasions, the legion did consist, if we may believe Vegetius, of five thousand foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and sometimes seven hundred horse. Livy tells us, the legions which were appointed to go over into Africa with Scipio, consisted of six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. And therefore Festus is mistaken, when he says that Marius first made the Roman legion to consist of six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The number of soldiers in a legion was different at different times. Nevertheless, it

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sand foot and six hundred horse each. But the most common opinion is, that the Roman legion did not then consist of above four thousand men at the most.

Plut. p. 30.

Rome could not without ingratitude forget the services that had been done her by the Sabine women, who were become entirely Roman, by affection as well as marriage. Honourable privileges and marks of distinction were decreed them. Every body was to give way to them when they passed along; all immodest and too free discourse was forbidden in their presence: it was a law, that indecent objects should never be brought into their sight; they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges, in capital cases; and lastly, they were permitted to hang a ball<sup>s</sup> of gold about their children's necks

is probable, that from Marius's time, the legions did more commonly consist of six thousand foot, and three hundred horse. C. & R.

<sup>s</sup> It is difficult to find out exactly what was the form of this ornament, which the Sabine women had leave to hang about their children's necks. It was called bulla. Plutarch says, that this bulla was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water: and it is therefore probable, that these little golden balls were both hollow and light; and that they were but half globes, with one side flat, and the other globular. Macrobius pretends, that Tarquin the elder extended the right of wearing these ornaments to all the children of the patricians, and began with his own. The young Romans when they came to the age of manhood, quitted the bulla, and made an offering of it to the Dii Lares, which were then called Lares Bullati. Hence Persius:

*Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,  
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pendit.*

to distinguish them from the vulgar. A particular robe was also assigned these children, called<sup>9</sup> *prætexta*, the use of which was forbidden to all others.

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Romulus  
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For five years together, the two kings lived at Rome in a surprising harmony. Romulus had his palace on the declivity of the hill *Palatinus*; *Tatius* resided on the hill *Tarpeius*; and his *Sabines* had fixed their settlements on the hill, which they called *Quirinalis*,

D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 113,  
114.

And this ornament was also sometimes consecrated to some other divinity, as appears by this inscription which *Gruterus* gives us from an ancient monument :

JUNONI. PLACIDÆ.  
CONSERVATRICI. AUGUSTÆ.  
CLAUDIA. SABBATIS.  
BULLAM. D. D.

The Romans used also to inclose in these bullæ certain preservatives which paganism had consecrated, to secure their children against enchantments; and they perhaps attributed this virtue to certain hieroglyphics, or other mysterious characters. Or it may be, the figures of the deities and of animals were made use of for this purpose : as in that particular kind of preservatives, which the Latines called *amuleta*, whose form was arbitrary. C. & R.

<sup>9</sup> These robes were laced at the bottom, and perhaps on the two lapets, if what *Rubenius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *prætextæ*, from this purple edging or lace. They were worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen, and took the *toga virilis*, or manly robe. But what was in *Romulus's* time a mark of distinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, was afterwards very common. All, even to the children of the *liberti*, or men who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth : and at length, the gravest of the magistrates wore them likewise, not only at Rome, but in the colonies, and municipia, or free cities. C. & R.

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either in memory of their city Cures, or in honour to their god Quiris. The space between the hills Palatinus and Tarpeius became a common market-place for the two united nations, and they gave it the name of Forum, which it retained ever after ; and there they also held their assemblies for public affairs.

The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. Rome readily adopted the Sabine gods ; and Tatius built temples to the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, Rhea, Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, and Mars, who was probably the same with the god Quiris. Juno Quiritia was introduced to preside over the public feasts of all the curiæ in Rome : and the two nations agreed to institute some new festivals, by common consent : that called <sup>1</sup>Matronalia was instituted in memory of the peace, which had been brought about by the mediation of the women. The Romans, who had hitherto used small bucklers after the manner of the Argives, now wore larger, like those of

Plut. in  
Rom. p 30.

<sup>1</sup>This festival was celebrated on the first of March. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, gives other reasons for the institution of it ; but grants that the chief of them was the remembrance of the benefits the Romans had received from the Sabine women. The Matronalia was to the Roman wives, what the Saturnalia was to their husbands. They now served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did of their wives in the Saturnalia. The Matronalia was consecrated to Mars, and, according to some, to Juno Lucina ; and on it the women sacrificed to these two deities. Plutarch (p. 30.) says the two kings instituted likewise the Carmentalia, in honour of the goddess Carmenta. C. & R.

the Sabines: and the latter conformed themselves to Romulus's calendar<sup>2</sup>. In a word, never was a more sudden or more perfect union between two nations which had been such mortal enemies.

During the time that Romulus had an associate on the throne, the conquest of Camerium, a town in the neighbourhood of Rome, was the only military atchievement of the Romans: the Camerini, by their incursions on the Roman territory, gave occasion to the war. Being twice defeated, four thousand of them were transplanted to Rome, and a colony sent from thence to Camerium.

XVI. But as it is scarce possible that concord should be perpetual in a state which is governed by two kings, whose powers are equal, and whose interests will at length prove not to be the same, the union between Romulus and Tatius, which policy had formed, and reciprocal condescensions maintained, was broke in the sixth year of their govern-

<sup>2</sup> Solinus reports, chap. 3. that before the foundation of Rome, the year consisted of thirteen months, and of three hundred and seventy-four days; nevertheless, it is probable that the people of the southern parts of Italy followed the Greek calendar, which made the year first to consist of three hundred and sixty, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty-four days, which are a lunar year. Be that as it will, the Sabines thought fit to conform themselves to Romulus's calendar. The common opinion is, that he made his year to consist of only ten months, viz. March, April, May, June, Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November and December. March, May, Quintilis and October, had each thirty-one days, the other six months but thirty. C. & R.

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R O M E  
I,

Romulus  
First King.

D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 114.

Macrob.  
sat. I. 1.  
c. 12.

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I.

Romulus  
First King.

D. Hal. p.  
115.

ment. The occasion of it was this. Some of Tatius's people having ravaged the territory of the Lavinians<sup>3</sup>, the latter sent envoys to Rome to demand satisfaction. Romulus declared himself for delivering up the aggressors to the injured party; but Tatius interposed. He alleged, that it was not just to deliver up Roman citizens into the hands of strangers, their enemies; and that the complainants ought to come and plead their cause at Rome. Nor was his conduct hitherto greatly to be condemned. But some of the envoys, in their return home, being murdered by the very robbers they had complained of, Tatius still continued to skreen these assassins from punishment. However, when the Lavinians renewed their complaints, Romulus, of his own authority, surrendered up the murderers to them. Tatius looking upon this as an insult offered him by his colleague, put himself at the head of some armed men, pursued the Lavinians, and rescued his people out of their hands. So excessive a partiality to his friends, accompanied with such grievous injustice, cost him his life. For not long after, going to Lavinium<sup>4</sup> with Romulus, to offer certain sacrifices, as the kings were obliged to do, to those tutelar gods of their state, which had been brought from

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch (p. 32.) says, it was the Laurentes who were injured, and who slew Tatius at Lavinium.

<sup>4</sup> According to Licinius apud D. Hal. Tatius did not go to Lavinium with Romulus, nor to offer sacrifices, but went by himself to exhort the Lavinians to pardon the criminals.

Troy, and still remained at Lavinium, the relations and friends of the envoys who had been murdered, fell upon him and slew him at the foot of the altar with the priest's knives and the spits for roasting the victims. To Romulus they did no violence, but conducted him out of the town with acclamations of praise and benediction. He conveyed the body of his colleague to Rome, and honourably buried it on mount Aventine.

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R O M E  
I.

Romulus  
First King.

Romulus, being now a second time sole king of Rome, and revered, not only by his subjects, but by strangers, the Latine nation sought his friendship and alliance, and by their ambassadors concluded a treaty with him. To clear himself entirely of the violence offered to the envoys of the Lavinians, he pronounced sentence of banishment against the murderers, who on the death of Tatius had immediately fled from the city. After this he summoned the Lavinians who had slain his colleague, (and who had been delivered up to him) to answer for their crime; but they alleging, that they had only taken a just revenge for the murder of their ambassadors, he allowed their plea to be good, and dismissed them with impunity<sup>5</sup>: yet the Sabines expressed no disposition to a revolt.

XVII. ABOUT this time a plague, which a famine made more terrible, raged in Rome, and the people of Camerium took advantage of the heavy affliction the Romans laboured under, to shake off the yoke. Romulus con-

Plut. p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch (p. 32.) says they were punished.

Year of  
R O M E  
XVI.

Romulus  
First King.

D. Hal. p.  
116.

p. 33.

Plutarch,  
p. 32, 33.  
D. Hal. p.  
116, 117.

quered them a second time, and on this occasion had the honours of a second triumph. He entered Rome with the acclamations of the people, as after the defeat of Acron. He had slain six thousand of the Camerini in the battle; and, of those who had escaped, he transported one half to Rome, sending from thence to Camerium twice as many Roman citizens; so prodigiously, says Plutarch, was the number of his people increased in sixteen years from the building of the city.

After <sup>6</sup> this he vanquished the Fidenates, took their city, (which stood about forty furlongs from Rome) and sent thither a colony of two thousand five hundred Romans. But now the Veientes<sup>7</sup>, growing jealous of their prosperous neighbour, demanded Fidenæ back, as a city in their dependance; and having received a contemptuous refusal, they laid siege to it. A second body of troops they marched against Romulus, who had an army in the field. He defeated them in two battles with great slaughter, and took a vast number of them prisoners, together with their commander, who had acted a very weak part. And what was now done at the sale of these slaves, laid the foundation of a custom which prevailed ever after. When the people offered sacrifices to the gods, in thanksgiving for any

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch and Dionysius speak of Fidenæ as taken before Camerium.

<sup>7</sup> Veii, the city of the Veientes, stood about a hundred furlongs from Rome. D. Hal. compares it to Athens for extent and riches.

victory, they dressed up an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cried all round him, <sup>8</sup>“Sardians to sell.” By which cries and ceremony they originally alluded to these two things: that the old governor of the Veientes had ruled his state like a child; and that the Veientes, and He-trurian people, were a colony of Lydians, whose capital city was Sardis.

Romulus, being intent upon making the best advantage of his victory, passed the Tiber, and pursued the Veientes to the gates of their city; whose situation preserved it. Veii was built upon a steep rock, and Romulus had then neither the troops, nor the provisions necessary to besiege it. He therefore retired; yet with a full purpose of returning in a little time, and reducing to ashes a city, which had no motive to conspire against Rome, except jealousy or ambition. But two defeats had taught the Veientes wisdom; and they prevented their total ruin by their submission. They sent a deputation to Rome to sue for peace; and Romulus granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon their surrendering seven small towns on the Tiber, with some

Year of  
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XVI.

Romulus  
First King.

p. 118.  
Livy, B. 1.  
c. 15.

<sup>8</sup> This account is taken from Plutarch. But Simius Capito gives the custom a later date. He says, that when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the consul had conquered Sardinia, he brought so great a number of slaves from thence, that for a great while together, nothing was to be seen in the markets but Sardinians, or Sardi, to be sold. Which gave rise to the proverb, *Sardi venales, alius alio nequior*. That is, Sardians to sell, every one worse than his fellow. C. & R.

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~~~~~  
Romulus
First King.

salt-pits at the mouth of that river, and their sending fifty of their principal citizens to Rome, as securities for their fidelity. A war so advantageously ended obtained him a third triumph.

Plut. p. 34.

This was the last military exploit of Romulus. It is surprising, and not easy to be accounted for, that this prince, who seemed so eagerly bent upon extending his domination over his neighbours, should, after the death of his grandfather, Numitor, leave Alba in possession of her laws and liberty. The sovereignty of that state devolved upon him, and he might have subjected it to the Roman laws; yet he reserved to himself no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magistrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic.

Plutarch,
p. 34.
D. Hal. p.
118, 119.

XVIII. So great an instance of moderation in the first king of Rome is the more extraordinary, as the historians all agree, that being elated with his continual prosperity, he now affected an absolute tyranny. He paid no longer any deference to his great council; the senators were assembled merely for form sake; he made himself the sole arbiter in all affairs. Having erected a judgment-seat in the Forum, he there administered justice, or rather exercised cruelty, attended by his three hundred celeres, and his twelve lictors, the ministers

⁹ The three hundred horse which Romulus had for his guard, were the first corps of the Roman soldiery. They were chosen by the thirty curiæ, each furnishing ten men; and Romulus divided them into three companies under

of his despotic will. But that which more than all things else provoked the fathers was, that of his own authority, and without consulting them, he shared the conquered lands among the soldiers, as he pleased; and, even against their opinion, restored the Veientes their hostages. The senators not able to endure that the government should be thus changed into an absolute monarchy, conspired his destruction: and it was not long before they effected it.

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XXXVII.

Romulus
First King.

On the seventh of July, in the thirty-seventh year of Rome, Romulus (now sixty years old, or, as some say, only fifty-five) appointed a review of his troops in a plain, without the city; and the senate for the greater state attended him thither. Whilst the king was haranguing his army, near a pond, called Goats-pond, a sudden storm of hail and thunder came upon them. The storm dispersed¹ the soldiers; and the senators remaining alone with the king, thought this a favourable opportunity of executing their design. The king was ²slain, and his

Plutarch,
Rom. p. 34.
and Num.
p. 60.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 16.

the command of a general officer called *tribunus celerum*. The particular captain of each company was styled *præfectus celerum*. The *tribunus celerum* had great authority in Rome, and may be said to have been the second person in the state next the king. He had a right of assembling the people on pressing occasions. C. & R.

¹ This adventure, according to Plutarch (p. 36.), gave rise to the Caprotine nones, or *Populi fugium*, a festival in the Roman calendar on the nones of July. But other authors give another origin to this festival.

² The historians are not agreed about the manner in which Romulus was assassinated. Some say it was done by the people, who were enraged at the king for shewing more

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Romulus  
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body conveyed out of sight in an instant. Some pretend, that the better to conceal the fact, the senators cut him into pieces, and that every senator carried away one under his robe. Be that as it will, the circumstance of the storm gave occasion to the fable which the assassins spread among the people, that the king was all on a sudden surrounded with flame, and snatched up in it from earth to heaven. The credulous were contented with a story which made the founder of their colony a god; but the more penetrating conceived just suspicions against the murderers; insomuch that the senate became odious to all the better sort in Rome. This made it necessary to find out some secret to stop the complaints, and appease the anger of the multitude: and Julius Proculus, a considerable man among the fathers, was the person whom the senate suborned to impose upon the people. He was esteemed a man of probity, and his word had the more credit, as he had always been thought a friend to Romulus, having come from Alba with him, and preferred the doubtful fortune of his unsettled colony to the certain advantages he possessed in his own country. When the curiæ were assembled, he told them the following story, and swore to the truth of it. That as he was travelling along, Romulus suddenly

favour to those who were newly come to Rome from the conquered cities, than to the old inhabitants: whilst others pretend, the senators stabbed him in full senate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one took a part of it, and carried it away under his robe.

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Romulus  
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Plut. p. 35.

appeared to him: his stature was taller than that of mortals, and his armour cast a dazzling brightness: the apparition filled him with a religious dread, and he addressed himself to it in these words: "Wherefore, O king, and for what crime of ours have you thus exposed us to the most unjust and grievous suspicions? Why have you so suddenly forsaken a city, which by your absence is universally plunged in the deepest sorrow?" To which Romulus answered: "It pleased the gods, O Proculus! that I should continue among mortals till I had put Rome into a condition of rising to the highest pitch of power and glory, and that I should then return to heaven from whence I originally came. Go, therefore, and admonish my Romans to love temperance and warlike exercises; for it is by these that they will one day become masters of the world."

This fable, averred for truth by a man who was thought sincere and honest, removed all suspicions; the people were transported with joy; divine honours<sup>3</sup> were decreed to the new deity; and the senate concurred to make a

<sup>3</sup> A festival was instituted to Romulus, called Quirinalia. It was celebrated on the seventeenth of February.

In the relation here given of the first settlement of the Roman government, the acts and institutions of Romulus, &c. D. Hal. has been chiefly, though not entirely followed, with respect to the order in which those events are placed. As the accounts left us by that author, Livy and Plutarch, of the beginnings of the Roman state, do not perfectly agree, either as to matter, or time, it may perhaps be a satisfaction to the reader to let him see by a summary of each, in what particulars they differ.

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Romulus  
First King.

god of him whom they could not endure for a king.

Such was the end of Romulus, the founder of Rome: a prince, as we have seen, of un-

### *DIONYSIUS,*

after the building of Rome, and a formal election of Romulus to be king of it, mentions

1. The division of the colony into tribes, *curiæ* and *decuriæ*.

2. The distinction of the people into patricians and plebeians.

3. The institution of the patronage.

4. The constituting a senate. Of a hundred senators, the king chooses but one. The tribes and *curiæ* the rest.

5. The appointment of the three hundred *celeres* for the king's life-guard.

6. The settling of the respective powers and privileges of the king, senate, and assemblies of the people.

7. The opening of the asylum, or sanctuary of refuge.

8. Romulus's religious and civil laws.

9. The erecting a judgment-seat in the forum, where the king administered justice, attended by his three hundred *celeres* and twelve lictors, with their fasces and axes.


10. The rape of the Sabine women, the union of the Sabines and Romans, and the creation of a hundred new senators by Tatius.

N. B. D. Hal. makes no mention of the three centuries of knights, elected, according to Livy, in the time of Romulus and Tatius, nor of any other horsemen, but the three hundred *celeres*, till the reign of Tarquin the elder, when he says, this king would have created three new tribes of horsemen, and was opposed by Navius the augur. He afterwards tells us, that Servius Tullius composed the equites or knights of those citizens who were most eminent by birth and riches, and divided them into eighteen centuries.

### *LIVY*

speaks of Romulus and Remus, as being both saluted kings, by their respective followers, before the building of Rome.

certain birth, brought up by shepherds, and whose first empire was over a promiscuous, undisciplined rabble : who, when he had built a city, peopled it chiefly with robbers, out-

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After the building of the city and the death of Remus, he relates,

1. Romulus's making religious and civil laws.
2. His putting on a habit of distinction, and being attended by twelve lictors.
3. His opening an asylum.
4. His constituting a senate of a hundred men, who were styled patres, and their posterity patricians.
5. The rape of the Sabine women, and the union of the two nations ; after which,
6. The division of the citizens into thirty curiæ.
7. The institution of three centuries of knights, the Tatienses, Ramnenses, and Luceres.
8. Livy does not mention the celeres till the close of Romulus's reign.

N. B. Livy says nothing of tribes, till he comes to the four tribes of Servius Tullius : nor ever mentions the hundred new senators created by Tatius.

He says, B. 1. c. 36. that Tarquin the elder, without increasing the number of Romulus's centuries of knights, increased the number of the knights to one thousand eight hundred, which were still called three centuries : and B. 1. c. 43. he tells us, that Servius Tullius made six centuries of the three instituted by Romulus, but that they retained the old names ; and that these six with twelve other centuries of horsemen made a part of the first and richest of Servius's classes.

### PLUTARCH

does not speak of any formal election of Romulus to be king, but he being supposed such,

1. Opens the asylum, soon after the first foundations of the city were laid, and thereby greatly augments his colony.
2. Lists all who are fit to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. These companies were called legions, from the word *legere*, to choose, because they were

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laws, runaway slaves, and fellows of desperate fortunes, from all quarters, men, who though restrained by laws from injuring one another, yet subsisted by rapine, and got every thing by violence, not even their wives excepted: a prince, who by his policy and courage, in a reign of thirty-seven years, brought a colony from such beginnings to be formidable to all the states around it, having before his death increased his subjects from three thousand three hundred men to forty-seven thousand, all stout soldiers, and all actuated by the same views of preserving their own liberty, and invading that of their neighbours: to conclude; a prince, who of a gang of slaves and profligates formed a people which in time became masters of the world, and, what is worthy to be remarked, more illustrious by their virtue than by the number of their victories, or the extent of their empire.

select and chosen men. The rest of the multitude were called *populus*, people.

3. Chooses a hundred senators, whom he styles patri-  
cians and patres.

4. Distinguishes the rest of the wealthier sort from the common people, by making the former patrons to the latter, who are called clients.

5. Then follows the rape of the Sabine women, and the union of the two nations. After which,

6. The people are divided into three tribes, called Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres (the names Livy gives to his three centuries of knights.)

7. Then the religious and civil laws are mentioned; and

8. Plutarch speaks for the first time of Romulus's robes of state, his celeres and lictors just before his death, and as proofs of that haughtiness of spirit which provoked the senators to murder him.

## CHAP. III.

## NUMA.

*I. The death of Romulus is followed by an interregnum. A description of that sort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimously resolved to choose a king. II. The character of Numa Pompilius, a Sabine philosopher. III. He is elected to succeed Romulus; but is with difficulty persuaded to accept of the kingdom. He consults the will of the gods by augury. IV. Numa is no sooner upon the throne, than he applies himself to quiet the dissensions at Rome, and to moderate the warlike ardor of the Romans by the impressions of religion. V. He divides the ministers of religion into eight classes. The curiones, flamines, celeres, augurs. VI. Vestals. VII. Salii. VIII. Feciales. IX. Pontifices. X. He directs an especial reverence to be paid to the god Janus; and makes a goddess of Bona Fides. XI. He introduces a new sort of gods, called Termini or Boundaries. XII. He amends some of Romulus's laws; and makes new ones. XIII. He sends away the idle soldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by Romulus. XIV. He distributes the citizens into distinct companies, according to their trades. XV. He reforms the calendar. XVI. Numa dies, and his books are buried with him.*

I. ROMULUS dying without issue, the kingdom, which, had he left a son, might perhaps have proved hereditary, as that of Alba had been, continued elective; and Rome was greatly divided about the choice of another king. The minds of the first Romans, and of the new inhabitants, were not at present in so perfect an union as formerly; there were diversities of factions among the commonalty, and jealousies and emulations among the senators. All agreed, that it was necessary to have a king; but what person, or of what

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Plut. Numa,  
p. 60.

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nation, was the dispute. Those who had been builders of the city with Romulus, though they had yielded a share of the lands and dwellings to the Sabines, thought it by no means advisable to resign to them the regal authority. On the other hand, the Sabines alleged, that they, after the decease of Tatius, having peaceably submitted to Romulus's government, it was but just that the king should be chosen out of their nation: nor did they esteem themselves inferior to the Romans, or to have contributed less to raise Rome to that pitch of wealth and power to which she was arrived.

Livy, B. 1.  
Plut. p. 61.

During these disputes, the senators<sup>4</sup>, to prevent anarchy and confusion, took the sovereign power into their own hands. They divided themselves into decuries or tens, and each ten in their turn (as lots decided) possessed the supreme authority five days<sup>5</sup>, yet so as one person only of the governing ten had the badges of sovereignty at one time, and when he had been honoured with them twelve hours, he resigned them to another. This sort of government, which was called interregnum, lasted little more than a year<sup>6</sup>; for


<sup>4</sup>Plutarch reduces the number of the senators who divided the regal power between them to a hundred and fifty, and Livy to a hundred, but Dion. Hal. makes them two hundred; which seems to come nearer the truth, if it be certain, that Titus Tatius added a hundred senators to the hundred created by Romulus.

<sup>5</sup>D. Hal. (B. 2. p. 119.) makes each man of each decury to reign five days, and consequently each decury fifty, in which case, only seven decuries could have the administration in the whole year of the interregnum.

<sup>6</sup>Father Catrou (B. 2. p. 133.) has followed Plutarch, in

the people grew weary of such a frequent change of masters, who had not all the same views and inclinations; and they were likewise jealous of certain of the fathers, who seemed to aim at the establishing themselves in the supreme power. The senate therefore finding it necessary to proceed to the election of a king, the inter-rex for the time being summoned the people, and addressed himself to them, in these words: "Good, fortunate and happy may it be! Elect yourselves a king, O Romans. The senate give their consent,

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fixing Romulus's death to the thirty-seventh year of Rome, and (p. 144.) he has followed the same author, in fixing Numa's birth to the very day that Rome was founded, and in making him about forty when he was offered the kingdom: (by the words about forty, he means, that he was in his fortieth year, as appears by the date in the margin; and so Plutarch, \*Ελος ἣ δὴ διαλελούνη τῷ Νεμᾷ τεσσαρράκοντον.) Nevertheless, as the learned father allows with Dionysius, but about a year to the interregnum, these things are incompatible. Father Rouillé therefore in his note (B. 2. p. 144.) agrees with Petavius, in saying that Romulus reigned above thirty-eight years. They follow Varro's calculation in placing the foundation of Rome in April in the third year of the sixth olympiad, and the death of Romulus in July, in the first year of the sixteenth olympiad. The difference between these two dates is thirty-eight years and some months. Numa was therefore in his thirty-ninth year, when his predecessor died, and the interregnum lasting about a year, he was in his fortieth year when he was chose king.

If the reader has perused the preliminary discourse to this work, he is probably inclined to think, that Romulus reigned neither thirty-eight nor thirty-seven years, nor even twenty, and consequently that Numa must have been born long before the building of Rome.

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and, if you pitch upon a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, will confirm your choice<sup>7</sup>.”

The senate having thus recognised the people's right to choose a king, the people, in compliment, remitted the choice to the senate. But the old difficulty still remained, whether the sovereign to be elected should be a Sabine, or a Roman. At length they came to this conclusion: that the Romans should choose the king, but should be obliged to choose a Sabine.

Plut. p. 61.

II. THERE was at this time in Sabinia a man of distinguished birth and virtue, who led a retired life, and had no thoughts of empire, but over his own passions. His name was Numa Pompilius. He was the fourth son of Pompilius Pompo, a Sabine nobleman, and had married the daughter of king Tatius, but had not followed his father-in-law to Rome. Tatia having the same inclinations with her husband, had preferred the tranquillity of a private life to the embarrassing honours and distinctions of a court. She lived with him thirteen years, at Cures; and after her death he gave himself up entirely to the service of the gods, and the contemplation of their nature and power. He left the city, and in a solitary manner frequented those groves and fountains which religion had made sacred. And hence doubtless came the fable, which

<sup>7</sup> *Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit, Quirites, regem create, ita patribus visum est. Patre deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient.* Liv. B. 1. c. 17.

was very early received among the Sabines, that Numa lived in familiarity with the nymph Egeria<sup>8</sup>. It is certain that when he was upon the throne he took advantage of this general persuasion to give credit to his laws, and bring about a reformation at Rome.

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III. THE Romans having pitched upon this man to be king, two senators, Julius Proculus and Valerius Volesus, the first of Alban the other of Sabine extraction, were deputed to go to him with an offer of the kingdom: they addressed him in few words, imagining there needed no long arguments to persuade him to accept it; but upon trial, they found themselves obliged to use many reasons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retired life. In presence of his father and of his kinsman Martius, he returned the deputies an answer to this effect: "Since in every altera-

Plut. p. 62.

p. 63.


<sup>8</sup> Some persons not favourable to Numa's reputation, have thought that under his affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another which was more real and less chaste. Hence Juvenal, speaking of the grove called *Lucus Egeriæ*, says,

*Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.*

Sat. 3.

But St. Austin, building upon a passage taken out of Varro's book of antiquities, gives an allegorical interpretation to these frequent meetings between Numa and Egeria. He says, that this king being versed in hydromancy, saw several dæmons in the water whom he consulted, and from whom he received the laws he proposed to his people; and that because Numa drew water for his magical operations, *eo quod aquam egesserit*; this gave occasion to the fiction, that he had married the nymph Egeria, who took her name from the Latin word *egerere*. C. & R.

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tion of a man's life the success is doubtful, it would be madness for one who is easy, and provided with all things necessary and convenient, to endeavour after any change of his condition, or even to consent to it. For what is this but to prefer an uncertain satisfaction to an assured tranquillity? It is not difficult to form a judgment concerning the temper of the Roman people, by what happened to the late king, who did not escape the suspicion of having plotted against the life of his colleague, Tatius; nor is the senate free from the accusation of having treacherously murdered their prince Romulus. And yet Romulus had the advantage to be thought of divine race, and to be preserved in a miraculous manner in his infancy: whereas my descent is merely human, and, if I have gained any reputation, it is for such qualities as are in no wise proper to make me shine upon a throne; a love of peace, retirement, study, and divine worship. As Rome is envied by her neighbours, and threatened with foreign wars (for which Romulus perhaps gave no provocation) she has need of an active and warlike prince to govern her. What benefit could you receive in these circumstances from a king who would be wholly employed in establishing peace, justice, and the neglected worship of the gods? Such a prince must needs appear despicable to a people entirely actuated by views of ambition, and the insatiate desire of conquest."


Plut. in  
Num. p. 63.

The deputies perceiving by these words, that he refused the kingdom, became now

more urgent with him, intreating him not to suffer them to relapse again into their former seditions and civil discord, which they must unavoidably do, if he continued to reject their offer, there being no other person on whom both parties could agree to fix their choice. His father likewise, and Martius, taking him aside, endeavoured to persuade him to accept the kingdom, as conferred on him rather by heaven than by men. “ Though you are contented, said they, with your own fortune, and court neither riches nor power, ought you therefore to pay no regard to the appointment of the gods, who have chosen you to fill a throne? Have they indued your heart with so great a love of equity, only to lie useless in a desert? The throne is an eminent place, from whence virtue shews itself to advantage, and exercises a power which subdues and captivates the hearts of men. Tatius, though a foreigner, was highly esteemed by the Romans; and the memory of Romulus was so precious to them, that after his death they voted him divine honours. And who knows but Rome, influenced by the royal example, may moderate her pride and fury, and the love of arms be succeeded by a respect for religion?”

This discourse made some impression upon the philosopher, and when his own countrymen, the people of Cures, understood what message the Roman ambassadors had brought him, they earnestly pressed him to accept the offer, as the only means to appease all civil dissensions, and effectually incorporate both

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D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 121,  
& 122.

nations into one body. Numa yielded at length to these reasons and persuasions, and, having first offered sacrifices to heaven, set out for Rome. He was met in the way by the senate and people, who with an impatient desire came forth to receive him; and the women also welcomed him with acclamations of joy. The inter-rex for the day, Spurius Vettius, for form sake, which he thought should not be neglected, called an assembly of the people<sup>9</sup>, that they might proceed to an election. Numa was there chosen king, and his choice was unanimously confirmed by the senate.

But when the royal robes were brought to the new sovereign, he refused to be clothed with them, till (like Romulus) he had first consulted the will of the gods by augury. Conducted therefore to the top of the hill Tarpeius, he was there seated upon a stone, with his face to the south, and his head covered with a veil. The chief of the augurs stood behind him, and, stretching his right hand over the king's head, turned himself to the east and prayed for him. Then

Plut. p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> By an assembly of the people is to be understood a convention not only of the plebeians, but of the senators, patricians, knights, and all the Roman citizens without exception, who had right of suffrage, of what rank or condition soever. Nevertheless, what was done in these assemblies was properly said to be the act of the plebes, or commons, because they being here more numerous than all the rest, had in reality the decision of all affairs: their decrees however in these early times were of no effect, unless they were afterwards approved by the senate.

gazing around to discover a favourable omen, he saw some birds, which were presumed to be fortunate; and this was sufficient. The king came down from the hill, the people renewed their shouts and acclamations; and, what seldom happens to a state that receives a new master, the joy was universal and sincere.

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IV. THE reader is not here to expect the history of a reign memorable for battles and conquests. Numa's particular glory was his quieting all contentions at home, reforming the manners of the Romans, and establishing good polity among them.

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At the time of his accession to the throne, there were some disputes and heart-burnings between the senators of Romulus's election and those which Tatius had added to them; the former claiming certain honours and pre-eminences, which destroyed that perfect equality for which the latter contended. Many of the new-comers among the plebeians were also greatly dissatisfied. Romulus had left them utterly unprovided for; and the want of a necessary subsistence made them ready to join in any sedition by which they might hope to better their fortune. Numa had no sooner taken into his hands the reins of government, than he silenced the complaints of these poor plebeians, by distributing some of the conquered lands among them; nor was he less successful in his endeavours to quiet the animosities among the patricians: and when the citizens of Rome were all brought to a perfect

D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 123.

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concord and harmony among themselves, so as to have no view but the public good, and when he had enlarged the city, by inclosing within its walls the hill Quirinalis, he applied himself to form such regulations as might preserve peace and make justice flourish among his subjects.

Plut. p. 64.

He began his reformatations with himself, dismissing the three hundred celeres, whom Romulus had made his guards; for, he said, it would ill become him to reign over a people he distrusted, and as ill to distrust a people that compelled him to reign over them. And being sensible, that the chief source of the disorders in the state had been the too passionate love of arms, he laid a scheme for moderating the warlike ardour of the Romans, by the impressions of religion.

p. 65.

Plutarch tells us, that Numa acknowledged a first Principle of all things, who is impassible, invisible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible: and for this reason forbade the Romans to represent God in the form of man or beast; and he adds, that there was no painted or graven image in their temples and sanctuaries, for the first hundred and sixty years. Numa likewise prohibited all bloody sacrifices; and appointed loaves and meal to be presented to the gods, with libations of wine and milk. And because Pythagoras, the Samian, brought the like ceremonies from Greece, Numa has been thought by some to have learned them from him; but Livy, Dion. Hal. and Plutarch are all against this opinion, and

assert, that Pythagoras did not live till long after Numa's time.

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But notwithstanding the right notions which this prince had of the deity, he did not introduce the worship of him; he authorized both the Alban and Sabine ceremonies of religion, and contented himself with establishing order and decency in the performance of them.

V. THE ministers of religion he divided into eight classes.

D. Hal. E.  
2. p. 124,  
& 125.

First, the curiones, those priests of whom each curia or parish had one, proper to itself. Their whole number was thirty, there being just so many curiæ in Rome.

The second class were the flamines<sup>1</sup>, who took their names, as some say, from the flame-

<sup>1</sup>The flamines were chosen by the people: after which they received an inauguration, or rather a sort of consecration, at the hands of the pontifex maximus, to whom they were absolutely subject. Their ministry was confined to one particular god, whose name they took. All other priestly offices were incompatible with that of flamen; a dignity from which they could not, but for very great reasons, be deposed. In this case they were degraded, which the Romans called *flaminio abire*. It was a crime for the flamines to appear in public uncovered, or to offer sacrifice bare-headed. Val. Maximus speaks of one Sulpitius, who was deprived of the office of flamen, for having let his bonnet fall off whilst he was sacrificing. The body of the flamines did not form a society or particular college, as the augurs and pontifices did: but they were summoned, and took their seats as judges, whenever an affair was to be determined, the cognizance of which belonged to the college of the pontifices. Tully *pro domo sua* addresses himself to his judges thus: *Discite orationem pontifices & vos flamines*. In civil life, the flamines were tied up to several trifling practices which the extra-

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Plut. p. 64.

coloured tufts upon their caps: but Plutarch tells us, that these priests were first called pilamines, from the Latin word *pileus*, which signified such a picked bonnet as they wore, and that flamines was only a corruption of pilamines. In Romulus's time there was a flamen called Dialis<sup>2</sup>, because he presided

vagance of paganism had made sacred. Their wives, who were called flaminicæ, partook of the priesthood of their husbands, and shared with them the care of the sacrifices: as we learn from A. Gellius, and some of Gruter's ancient inscriptions: and a flaminica could not be divorced on any account whatsoever. Death alone could separate a flamen from his wife; and upon her death he lost his sacerdotal dignity. They had under their care some young girls and boys, to assist in the sacrifices. These sorts of acolythes, whose fathers and mothers must be living, were called flaminii and flaminicæ. The number of the flamines was at first but three; afterwards they increased to twelve, and to fifteen. C. & R.

<sup>2</sup> The flamen Dialis was the most distinguished of any, both by the pre-eminence of his rank, and the god he served. The engagements he entered into, as priest of Jupiter, were inconsistent with his bearing civil offices, which he could neither solicit, nor accept. But to make him amends, he had the privilege of being guarded by a licitor, and wearing a magnificent robe: to which were added the honours of the curule chair. He was generally of a patrician family, as also the flamen Martialis, and the flamen Quirinalis: and therefore these were called flamines majores, to distinguish them from the flamines minores, who were plebeians. The flamen Dialis was subject to very troublesome laws, the particulars of which we have in A. Gellius. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on horseback, or cast his eyes upon an army drawn up in battalia. It was not lawful for him to swear, and therefore his taking the oaths appointed by the laws was dispensed with. His word alone was a sufficient testimony, according to that form of words used by the prætor,

in the worship of Jupiter ; and another called *Martialis*<sup>3</sup>, because consecrated to the worship of Mars. To these Numa added a third, in honour of Romulus, who had been deified under the name of Quirinus.

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The third class consisted of those three hundred *celeres* who had been Romulus's guards. Numa changed this military body into a company of sacrificers.

The <sup>4</sup>augurs composed the fourth class ; their functions extended farther than the name seems to imply. They did not only foretel

which had the force of a perpetual edict, *Sacerdotem Vestalem, & flaminem Dialem, in omni mea jurisdictione jurare non cogam*. He could not attend funeral solemnities, but with the utmost precautions. To be absent but one night from Rome, to touch a dead body, and a thousand other actions, which are in themselves indifferent, were thought to be so many considerable faults in the flamen *Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy yoke, great marks of distinction were annexed to his office. He wore a hollow or pierced ring on his finger ; he had the privilege of wearing the *prætecta*, and sitting in a curule chair in the senate ; and only a freeman could cut his hair. In some cases, the respect shewn him was carried to extravagant superstition. Witness this law : *Unguium Dialis, & capilli segmina subter arborem felicem, terra integunto*. C. & R.

<sup>3</sup> The flamen *Martialis* was the second in rank among the flamines. It was not lawful for him to go out of Italy, at least in the first ages of Rome. We learn from Livy and Val. Maximus, that Aulus Posthumus, consul and flamen *Martialis*, could not get leave of Cæcilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, to command the Roman army in Africa. The flamen *Quirinalis* was also subject to the same law. Liv. B. 37. gives us an instance of it in the person of Q. Fabius Pictor. C. & R.

<sup>4</sup> See what is said of the augurs, page 48. Numa allowing of no bloody sacrifices, instituted no *haruspices*.

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D. Hal. p.  
125, 126,  
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future events by the flying or singing of birds ; all sorts of divination were within their province. They interpreted dreams ; drew presages from several phænomena both in the heavens, and on the earth, such as monsters, earthquakes, &c. and their ministry was equally made use of by the public, and by private persons.

VI. THE vestals made the fifth class: though Numa was not the first institutor of these, yet he was the first who erected a particular temple to <sup>5</sup>Vesta, and caused a <sup>6</sup>fire to be kept

<sup>5</sup> It is probable, that the ancients understood by the Vesta, whole world or the universe to which they attributed a soul, and which they looked upon as the only divinity, sometimes under the name of *τὸ πᾶν*, and sometimes under that of *μὲνας*, that is to say, unity. This was the mystical signification of Vesta, though the vulgar worshipped her as the goddess of the earth and of fire. And with a view to represent the universe under the name of Vesta, Numa Pompilius built a round temple in honour of this goddess : under which form, the temples of this goddess are still represented in medals. In the midst of the temple Numa placed the altar of the sacred fire, which was ever burning, out of a persuasion, that the proper region of fire was the centre of the world. In all probability, this king did not think the earth immovable, but fancied it was always rolling round the fire ; that is, the sun, which he thought placed in the centre of the universe. And Plato embraced this opinion towards the end of his life ; as did Pythagoras, and his disciples. So that, if we believe Plutarch, who relates all these facts, we must acknowledge, that the system which has since been adopted by Copernicus, was known in Italy, so early as in the days of Numa Pompilius. C. & R.

<sup>6</sup> The keeping up of a sacred fire had always been a part of religion, in different nations. “ The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar, saith the Lord, it shall never go

always burning in it. This fire the Romans looked upon as sacred in itself, and the extinction of it fatal to the republic. The king committed the care of supplying and preserving it to four<sup>7</sup> virgins, whose names were Gegania, Verenia, Canuleia, and Tarpeia. Thus Numa, a Sabine, seems to have had more regard for the remains of the Trojan religion than his predecessor, though descended from Æneas. But Romulus for a particular reason, as some think, would not suffer at Rome any of these consecrated virgins. He feared lest the faults of the vestals should call to remembrance what had happened to Rhea Silvia, his mother.

All conversation with men was not forbidden these virgins; they were permitted to receive visits from them by day; by night, none but persons of their own sex were suffered to come into their apartments. They were

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out," Lev. vi. 13. Such a fire was preserved in the temples of Ceres at Mantinea, of Apollo at Delphos and Athens, and in that of Diana at Ecbatan among the Persians. Setinus committed the care of the sacred fire of the temple of Minerva, and of the statue of Pallas, to a society of young women. The magi had the charge of keeping a fire always burning on altars erected in the middle of those little temples which Strabo calls *πυραθεία*. A lamp was always burning in the temple of Jupiter Ammon. And, if we may believe Diod. Siculus, this custom came from the Egyptians to the Greeks, and from them to the Romans, who made it a principal point of their religion. C. & R.

<sup>7</sup> Tarquin the elder added two more, and this number was never increased. The vestals were chosen from six to ten years of age. None beyond that age were admitted.

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D. Hal. p.  
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Plut. p. 66.

obliged to strict continence for thirty years ; of which they employed the first ten in learning the ceremonies of religion, the next ten in the performance of them, and the ten last in teaching them to the younger vestals. After this they were permitted to quit the functions of priestesses, and marry. But as these late marriages were observed not to be very happy, few of them left their old profession, even after the time of their ministry was expired. And indeed the restraints of their condition were in some measure compensated by the honours that were annexed to it. If they chanced to meet a criminal going to execution, they had the privilege of pardoning him, provided they affirmed, that their meeting him was purely accidental. It was a capital crime to enter with them into the litters in which they were carried. At what age soever they were admitted vestals, they became immediately mistresses of their own fortunes. And lastly, they had a right of making their wills, even in their father's lifetime<sup>a</sup>.

But then, as the honours done them were great, so were the punishments of their faults. The least levity in their behaviour, the smallest neglect in the discharge of their office, was, after proof made of it before the pontifices, punished, at their command, with severity. The penalty, inflicted on them for prostituting their honour, had something in it inexpressibly terrible. The offender, placed in a litter,

Plut. p. 67.

<sup>a</sup> Dio Cassius says this privilege was granted them by Augustus. l. 56.

shut up so close that her cries could not be heard, was carried cross the forum, and thence through the Colline gate, to the place where she was to be buried alive. Her friends and relations walked before her in tears, in the same order as in a funeral procession, till they came near the vault, in which she was to end her days. In this vault was a little bed, a lamp burning, and a small quantity of provisions. The pontifex read some prayers over her, with a low voice; but without the lustrations and other expiatory ceremonies used for the dead. This done, they let her down into the vault, and bricking up the entrance, covered it with earth. It is not certain, that this custom of burying the vestals was so early as Numa. Some authors say, they were burnt; and others, that they were stoned. As for the partner in the crime, he was whipped to death.

To suffer the sacred fire to go out, was also an unpardonable negligence in the vestals. Being thought to forebode approaching ruin, alarmed the whole city. Fresh fire, kindled, according to Festus, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, or, according to Plutarch, by the rays of the sun, was brought into the temple of Vesta, after many purifications; and the pontifices examined into the causes of this wicked neglect, that it might be punished with severity. Festus says, that the pontifex whipped the offender through a veil.

VII. THE sixth class, established by Numa, were the salii. For their origin we must go up as high as Evander, who brought from

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Plut. p. 68.

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Arcadia into Italy a company of musicians, the chief of whom was named Salius. Their office at first was only to sing at the sacrifices : but it was afterwards changed to dancing to the sound of the flute, in honour of those genii, on whose favour success in war depended. Numa Pompilius laid hold of an opportunity that offered to revive this order, and make it a religious one. In the eighth year of his reign, a pestilence which ravaged Italy was severely felt in Rome. Fear increasing the superstition of the people, Numa took advantage of it for the promoting of his views with respect to religion. He made them believe, that a shield of an extraordinary make fell down from heaven to him, and that the nymph Egeria and the Muses had told him, the health and prosperity of Rome depended upon the preservation of that shield. For fear therefore lest so precious a depositum should be stolen, and that it might be the more difficult to distinguish it, he ordered a skilful workman, named Mamurius, to make eleven more, exactly like it. He pretended, that the nymph Egeria and the Muses had directed this, and also that the fountain where he used to converse with them, and the fields about it, should be consecrated ; and that the vestals should from that fountain draw all the water with which they sprinkled their sanctuary. The twelve shields, called ancilia, he hung up in the temple of Mars, and appointed twelve young Romans, taken out of good families, to be the keepers of them. Their name

of salii was agreeable to their ministerial office: for the descent of the miraculous shield was annually celebrated by them on the first of March, with public<sup>9</sup> dancings.

VIII. THE seventh class of ministers dedicated to religion, were the feciales; whose employment being of importance to the state, and their authority great, and for life, care was taken to choose them out of the best families.

<sup>9</sup>In this festival, the twelve salii marched out of the temple in good order, each carrying one of the sacred shields on his left arm, and a javelin in his right hand. They were dressed in habits striped with purple, and girded with broad belts, clasped with brass buckles; on their heads they wore helmets, or high bonnets which terminated in a point. As they marched, sometimes they sung in concert, and sometimes they danced to the sound of instruments, martial entries, which they diversified agreeably enough. Sometimes one only danced, who was called præsul; he was the head of the company, and both led the dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the spectators with their martial attitudes, and their quick and lively motions. They were particularly expert in beating just time, which they did with their javelins upon their shields. In the choice of the salii, Numa would have these two rules observed: First, that that should be natives of Rome, and free-born. Secondly, that their fathers and mothers should be alive. By this means he made sure of their fidelity, their parents being their security. The festival lasted several days, during which the first Romans were scrupulous of undertaking any serious and important affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a journey, or any military expedition. In the latter ages, they shook off the yoke of this superstition, and became less scrupulous. The salii ended all these days of ceremony with repasts, in which no cost was spared. Hence Tully uses the words, *Saliarem in modum cænare*, to signify a splendid entertainment. C. & R.

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It is probable, that a war, with which this pacific king was threatened by the Fidenates, occasioned his thinking of this establishment. Notwithstanding the revolt of Fidenæ, and the depredations committed by its inhabitants, on the Roman lands, Numa thought himself obliged to attempt an accommodation by treaty, before he had recourse to arms. The better therefore to ascertain the equity of this war, if he should undertake it, and of all such as Rome should for the future engage in, he established a sacred college of twenty persons, who were to be in some measure the arbiters of war and peace: it was not lawful to commit any hostilities on the lands of the neighbouring nations, till all means of an amicable accommodation had been first tried, without success. In case the republic had suffered any injury from a foreign state, two of these *feciales*, or heralds, were dispatched to demand satisfaction; and the manner was this. One of them, chosen by the college, under the name of <sup>1</sup>*pater patratus*, to be the chief actor, was clothed in a magnificent habit, and in his hand was put a sort of sceptre, or caduceus, which distinguished him from his

<sup>1</sup> No persons were ever deputed to treat of peace or war, but such, whose fathers were living, and who were themselves the fathers of several children. And from hence comes the name of *patres patrati*, i. e. fathers in reality, [or perhaps, fathers who had fathers] according to Plutarch; who adds, that this law was a political invention of Numa. This king thought that a man who had a father and children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote its interests. C. & R.

colleague. Thus accoutred he went out of the city : and when he arrived at the enemy's frontiers, he called Jupiter and the other gods to witness that he came only to demand justice on behalf of the Roman people. Then he advanced into the country of the aggressors, and took a second oath that he would say nothing at the place whither he was deputed to go but what was true, and require nothing but what was equitable. He told the first stranger he met, that he had taken these oaths, and then went on towards the city, of which he was to demand satisfaction. As he entered it, he repeated the same oaths at the gate, in presence of the officer who was upon guard, or at least of some of the inhabitants. From thence he went on to the place of public concourse, and there declared the reasons of his coming. This done, he desired a conference with the magistrates : and if they submitted to reason, and delivered up to him the persons who had been guilty of the insult offered to Rome, he carried them away with him. If the magistrates asked time to deliberate, he gave them ten days ; and, when these were expired, ten more ; and so on to thirty. But if, after the thirty days, they still continued to refuse him justice, he called the gods of heaven and hell to witness against them ; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his report at Rome, where it would be considered of at leisure. Upon his return to the senate, he reported, that he had performed all the duties of his office, and that nothing hindered the Romans from declaring

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D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 132,  
133.

war<sup>2</sup>; and then was the time for the senate to come to a resolution. But before these formalities had been observed, it was not lawful for either king, or senate, military tribunes, or subaltern officers, to attempt any thing against the enemy. In this manner did Numa, perhaps a little at the expense of his own authority, put a check to the precipitate sallies of the Romans, who attended more to the suggestions of their ambition, than the rules of equity, in making war: and it was probably owing to these regulations that the Fidenates escaped the resentment of the Romans; for the latter undertook no war in Numa's time.

IX. THE eighth, and most venerable of all the different bodies consecrated to religion, was the pontifices<sup>3</sup>: the origin of which name

<sup>2</sup> If the senate determined to declare war, the *feciales* returned to the enemy's country, and in the presence of three witnesses who were arrived at the age of puberty, declared the cause of the war. After which he committed the first act of hostility, by throwing a bloody javelin: and at the same time uttered this form of words, which A. Gellius has preserved: "The Hermondulian people, and those of this country, have offered violence to the Roman people, who for that reason declare war against them." The name Hermondulian is of no determinate signification, and was then universally applied to all nations. C. & R.

<sup>3</sup> Most of those who have written on the Roman antiquities, (and particularly D. Hal. p. 132. and Varro de Ling. Lat. l. 4.) derive the word pontifices, from *pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges being committed to their care. Bridges were then thought sacred. The most solemn sacrifices were performed upon them. The bridge Sublicius is said to have been built, pursuant to the directions of an oracle, which forbid the use of iron in the framing it, and commanded that the parts of it should be joined together

is uncertain. Their<sup>4</sup> office was, to give judgment in all causes relating to religion; to en-  
with wooden pins. But Plutarch finds fault with the above-mentioned etymology of the word pontifex. He says, this word was in use at Rome before there were any bridges there. That wooden bridge itself, which was the first that was built at Rome, and called Sublicius, was of so late date, as to be the work of king Ancus Marcius, Numa's grandson; whereas the word pontifex was in use so early as in Numa's time. Plutarch (p. 65.) therefore gives another derivation of the word pontifex; he derives it from *potnis*, which, in old Latin, signified powerful or absolute master: some authors derive it from the two words *potis* and *facere*, understanding by the word *facere*, to sacrifice.

From Numa's time, to the middle of the fifth century, after the foundation of Rome, the college of pontifices consisted but of four. Afterwards at the request of the people, who were desirous of sharing the honours of the priesthood with the patricians, four pontifices, of plebeian families, were added. To these eight Sylla added seven more. The first eight were, according to some, styled pontifices majores, and the rest pontifices minores. According to others, these titles distinguished the patrician pontifices from the plebeian.

It will appear in the latter ages of the republic, that the people claimed the right of choosing the inferior pontifices: for as to the pontifex maximus, he seems to have been always chosen by the people, assembled in their comitia. At least, we find instances of this kind in Livy, especially in B. 25. at the very time when the inferior pontifices were chosen by the pontifical college. The pontifex maximus was also generally taken out of the other pontifices. The emperors assumed this dignity from Octavius's time; and the christian emperors continued to bear this title, to the time of Gratian, who (as we learn from Zozimus) absolutely refused it. C. & R.

<sup>4</sup> Tully, in his oration, *pro domo sua*, tells the pontifices, that the honour and safety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houses and fortunes of the citizens, and the very gods themselves, were all committed to their care.

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quire into the lives and manner of the inferior priests, and to punish them if they saw occasion; to prescribe rules for public worship; to regulate the feasts, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions; to determine what works should be deemed lawful, and what unlawful on festival days. Their president had the title of pontifex maximus; and his office was one of the most honourable in the commonwealth. Some say, the king reserved this eminent dignity to himself; and others, that he conferred it on his kinsman Numa Marcius.

X. SUCH were the eight classes into which Numa divided the priests and ministers of sacred things, multiplying the ceremonies and amusements of religion, in order the more effectually to divert the Romans from the pursuits of ambition, and the violence of arms. It was with the same view, or at least to give a check to the hasty proceedings of this fierce and rugged people, ever ready, upon the slightest occasions, to begin a war, that he caused a particular reverence to be paid to <sup>5</sup>Janus, whose two faces being the symbol of prudence which looks backwards and forwards, and considers the causes and consequences of

<sup>5</sup> Livy leaves it uncertain, whether Numa built the temple of Janus, or not. Dion. Hal. and Plutarch say nothing of it. Varro, as quoted by St. Austin, says, that Romulus caused the first temple of Janus, in Rome, to be erected, after the treaty made between him and Titus Tatius; and that he gave this god two faces, to shew, that at Rome two kings reigned at the same time, and two nations were united, and become one. C. & R.

things, were to be a memento to them to recollect themselves, before they gave way to their fury. He ordered the temple of that god to be kept shut in time of peace, and open in time of war.

But there is no part of Numa's management which Dionysius admires so much, as his contrivance to make the Romans honest, by turning Good Faith into a goddess, and appointing her a divine worship. It was a new invention unknown both to Greeks and Barbarians, and contributed greatly, as that historian observes, to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties, and the private citizens to their contracts with one another, into which they entered without witnesses. A scrupulous regard to truth became in time so universal among them, that the magistrates frequently determined doubtful causes between man and man by the bare affirmation, *ex fide*, as it was called, of the plaintiff or defendant. This veracity and this strictness in the performance of covenants were virtues still subsisting among the Romans in the time of Polybius, who gives them the glorious testimony, that they inviolably kept their word, making witnesses and securities needless; whereas ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, were no fence against the knaveries of the Greeks.

XI. THE same spirit of equity in Numa made him likewise introduce other deities, under the nature of termini or boundaries. In Romulus's time, neither the Roman territory in general nor the estates of private

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D. Hal. p.  
134.  
Plut. p. 70.

Bona Fides.

Polyb. B.  
6. c. 54.

D. Hal. B.  
2. p. 133,  
134.  
Plut. p. 71.

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persons had any fixed limits. That ambitious prince would have betrayed his own cause; and his encroachments on his neighbour's lands would have been too manifest, had he set bounds to his own. But Numa, having no views of enlarging his dominion, ordered stones, dedicated to Jupiter Terminalis, to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, to mark the just extent of it. The same was done with regard to the lands of private property, and these land-marks became themselves a kind of deities. To remove them was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might with impunity slay the transgressor. And, in order to render the law yet more inviolable, Numa instituted a festival called Terminalia, in honour to the Dii<sup>6</sup> Termini: it was celebrated the twenty-second or twenty-third of the month of February. The owners of lands met on the confines of their estates, and there made their offerings of loaves, and the first gatherings of their fruits and harvests. Thus did this wise king make a great variety of superstitions serviceable to the purposes of equity.

Cic. de  
Leg. B. 2.  
c. 8.

These following laws of Numa, concerning religion, subsisted in Rome ever after: "Let none appear in the presence of the gods, but with a pure heart, and sincere piety. Let

<sup>6</sup> The Dii Termini invented by Numa, were in his time nothing more than square stones, or posts, to which a religious honour was paid. Afterwards they were adorned with statues representing human figures, were crowned with flowers, and rubbed with perfumes. C. & R.

none there make a vain shew and ostentation of their riches, but fear lest they should thereby bring on themselves the vengeance of heaven. Let no one have particular gods of his own, or bring new ones into his house, or receive strange ones, unless allowed by edict. Let every one preserve in his own house the oratories established by his fathers, and pay his domestic gods the worship that has always been paid them. Let all honour the ancient gods of heaven, and the heroes whose exploits have carried them thither, such as Bacchus, Hercules, Castor, Pollux and Quirinus. Let altars be erected to the virtues which carry us up to heaven; but never to vices."

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XII. THOUGH religion was Numa's chief care, the explaining and amending the civil laws took up a great part of his attention: particularly he reformed that law of Romulus which gave fathers an unlimited power over their children; he would not suffer them to sell their sons after marriage, because it was very unjust, that a woman who had married a freeman should be constrained to live with a slave.

Plut. p. 71.

This king in his regulations had an especial regard to the preserving modesty in women. He excluded them from all public affairs, in-  
somuch that a woman having appeared in a court of justice to plead her own cause, it was looked upon as one of those prodigies which foreboded danger to the state, and as an ill omen which ought to be averted by expiations. He also forbad prostitutes to enter into

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A. Gell.  
B. 4. c. 3.

the temple of Juno. Nevertheless, he permitted husbands to lend out their wives, when these had borne them children. It was a sort of temporary divorce, in favour of those men whose wives were barren, but the lender continued to have the power of a husband over his wife, and could call her home, or lend her to others, as he pleased.

Numa, observing that the expenses in mourning habits and funeral<sup>7</sup> ceremonies were carried to excess, put a restraint upon that kind of extravagance. Nor would he suffer the dead to be buried or burnt within the walls of Rome. He forbade the mourners at funerals to make loud lamentations, and abolished the mad custom of the women's tearing their faces upon the death of their children or husbands; and lastly, he limited the time of mourning to ten months.

XIII. NOR were these the only reformatations made by Numa. Romulus having employed his people in continual wars, his successor was much embarrassed with a soldiery, who had been accustomed to plunder, and who were now without business. He shared therefore among them those lands which the late king had obtained by conquest, and had left uncul-

<sup>7</sup> The dead were anciently carried on funeral beds, which were adorned with flowers and coronets. And when luxury prevailed, the Romans took a pride in multiplying these beds, adorning them in a costly manner, and exposing the images of the ancestors of the dead upon them, to make the procession the more stately and magnificent. C. & R.

tivated. And the better to keep them constantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he distributed them into pagi, or villages, over each of which he appointed a chief or superintendant. The business of the superintendant was, to have a watchful eye over the husbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, and to punish them when slothful. He was also to make a report of the progress of agriculture in his district to the king, who, judging of every man's capacity for public affairs by his prudence and economy in the management of his farm, frequently advanced the industrious husbandman to the first dignities in the state. Plutarch observes another great advantage arising from this manner of employing the idle soldiery; that hereby they were not only inured to fatigue, as in time of war, but became accustomed to a peaceable and regular way of living; for there is nothing which so reconciles the minds of men to peace, as husbandry and a country life; it makes them abhor all violence, at the same time that it gives them courage and resolution to defend their arable lands and pastures from the encroachments of their neighbours.

XIV. BUT the master-piece of Numa's policy, according to Plutarch, was his <sup>8</sup> distribution of the tradesmen of Rome into distinct corporations. The city had been long divided

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Second  
King.

Plut. p. 71.  
D. Hal. p.  
135.

Plut. p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> This regulation of Numa's is not mentioned by Livy, or Dion. Hal. and indeed it seems inconsistent with what the latter says, B. 2. p. 95. That only two sorts of em-

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into two factions, occasioned by the mixture of the Sabines with the first Romans. Hence arose the dissensions of the interregnum; and it was an inexhaustible source of discord. Numa, therefore, to remedy this evil, and to abolish the very names of Tatian and Romulist, made all the artists and tradesmen of Rome, of whatsoever nation they originally were, enter into separate companies, according to their respective professions. The musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, curriers, dyers, tailors, &c. formed distinct communities. He ordained particular statutes for each of them, and granted them peculiar privileges, and a power of making by-laws. Every corporation was permitted to hold lands, have a common treasury, and to celebrate festivals and sacrifices proper to itself; in a word, to become a sort of petty republic. By this means, says Plutarch, the Sabines and Romans, forgetting all their old partialities and party names, were brought to an entire union.

XV. THE last reformation which this second king of Rome undertook, was that of the calendar: and if he did not bring it to its utmost perfection, he at least purged it of its grossest faults.

The year is said to have consisted, before his time, of but three hundred and four days; which is neither agreeable to the solar nor

ployment, war and agriculture, were permitted to the free-men by Romulus, and that all other occupations were for a long time looked upon by the native Romans as dishonourable, and left to slaves and strangers.

lunar year. Numa therefore did his utmost to make it agree with the courses both of the sun and moon: and he took this method in order to it. He knew the lunar year consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days, and he made his to consist of three hundred and fifty-five: the additional day was given to it out of superstition; Numa being persuaded, that the gods were pleased with odd<sup>9</sup> numbers. And upon the same principle, when he added<sup>1</sup> January and February to the old year, which consisted of only ten months, he appointed that the months which before contained, some of them

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Numa  
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Varro. Ma-  
crob. Sat.  
B. 1. c. 14.

<sup>9</sup>This whimsical notion was built on the most chimerical foundation. The pagans looked on an even number as the symbol of division, because it could be divided into two equal parts: whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reason, the symbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, some of which are continued even among those whom reason, enlightened by religion, ought to have undeceived. It was a notion that came originally from the Ægyptians. C. & R.

<sup>1</sup>January had its name from Janus. February was so called from the expiations signified by the word *februa*, which were in this month performed. March had its name from Mars, the supposed father of Romulus, which upon that account had been placed first. April from Aphrodite or Venus, because of the superstitious worship then paid to her. May from Maia, the mother of Mercury, to whom this month was made sacred. June, from Juno, or as some will have it, from Juventus, because the season is warm, or as it were juvenile. The rest had their names from their order, as Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November and December. Only Quintilis and Sextilis were afterwards turned into July and August, by the senate in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus.

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more than thirty-five days, others fewer than twenty, should now have each twenty-nine days, or thirty-one. February only consisted of twenty-eight; and it was therefore looked on as a fatal month, and consecrated to the infernal gods, who were thought to be pleased with even numbers. Numa appointed likewise, that the year, which before begun with the month of March, should henceforwards begin with that of January. And after he had in some measure regulated his year by the course of the moon, he turned his thoughts to make it agree with that of the sun. He was not ignorant that the course of the sun took up about eleven days more than that of the moon: and therefore he appointed that every two years an intercalary month of twenty-two days should be added to the rest; which month the Romans called <sup>2</sup> Mercedinus. And as he was sensible that the solar year consisted of

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, in the life of Julius Cæsar, calls this month Mercedonius. And Festus tells us of certain days, which he calls Mercedonios Dies, because they were the time appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics. The intercalary month began the day after the Terminalia. A little astronomy is sufficient to shew, that Numa's year could not agree with the courses of the sun and moon. The exact periods of the revolutions of the sun and moon were not then known. Livy writes, that Numa first instituted the days the Romans called Fasti and Nefasti. Macrobius, B. 1. distinguishes three sorts of days, which he calls Festi, Profesti, and Intercisi. The first were consecrated to the worship of the gods; the second set apart for public and private business; the last were divided between both. C. & R.

three hundred sixty-five days and six hours, and that these six hours made a whole day, in four years; he therefore commanded that the month Mercedinus, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days. Thus did this learned prince remedy the disorders of the calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a condition of more easily admitting of new corrections.

XVI. NUMA had now filled the throne near forty-three years; and was about eighty-two years old when he died of some chronical distemper, which gradually wore him away, without lessening the vigour of his mind. During his whole reign no declaration of war had obliged the Romans to open the temple of Janus. He became the arbiter of all the differences among his neighbours; and his virtues seem to have communicated themselves to all the nations round about Rome. As to the Romans themselves, it might be literally said, that their weapons of war were changed into instruments of husbandry. No intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, nor attempts upon it, nor so much as any murmurs against the person, or administration of the king, appeared among them. When he died, they lamented him as sincerely, as if every man had lost his own father; and the concourse of strangers to Rome, to celebrate his obsequies, was exceedingly great. Numa had forbidden the Romans to burn his body; they therefore put it into a stone coffin, and, pursuant to his own orders, buried the greatest


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LXXXII.

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Second  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
135.  
Plut. p. 73.

p. 74.

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part of the<sup>3</sup> books he had written, in the same sepulchre with him. In consequence of the law he had made, that no dead body should be interred within the city, he himself had chosen a burial-place beyond the Tiber, at the foot of the Janiculum: and thither he was carried on the shoulders of his senators, and followed by all the people, who bewailed their loss with tears. He left no children, except a daughter, named Pompilia, who was married to Numa Marcius (the son of his kinsman Marcius, who had persuaded him to accept of the government) and was the mother of Ancus Marcius, fourth king of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> These books, when dug up some time after, were burnt by a decree of the senate. He had therein explained his reasons for the novelties he had introduced into the Roman worship. We are indebted to Varro for this account. He tells us, that one Terentius had a piece of ground near the Janiculum: and that a husbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over Numa's tomb, turned up some of that legislator's books; wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans upon the foot on which he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor of Rome, and the prætor to the senate; who, when they had read the frivolous reasons he assigned for his religious establishments, agreed, that the books should be destroyed according to Numa's intentions: and it was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire. Varro, apud S. Aug. lib. 7. de Civit. Dei. cap. 24. St. Austin thinks there were some footsteps of magic in these books; of which Numa had in his lifetime been suspected. C. & R.

## CHAP. IV.

## TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

*I. Tullus Hostilius, a man of a generous and martial disposition, is elected by the Romans to succeed Numa. II. The rivalry between Rome and Alba for superiority. III. The dispute is decided by the famous combat between the three Horatii and the three Curiatii, in which the latter are all slain, and two of the former. IV. The surviving Horatius in his return to the city, in triumph, stabs his own sister, for reproaching him with the death of her lover. He is tried by the duumviri, and condemned to die. He appeals to the people, and they mitigate the sentence. V. Tullus, in conjunction with the Albans, engages in a war against the Veientes, and defeats them. The treachery of the Albans. Tullus demolishes Alba, and transplants the inhabitants to Rome. VI. He vanquishes the Fidenates, Sabines, and Latines; and institutes the Saturnalia. VII. In his old age he falls into superstition, and studies magic. He is assassinated in his own palace.*

I. THE two factions of the Romulists and Tatians, whose quarrels suspended for so long a time the election of a successor to Romulus, being now no more, the interregnum which followed the death of Numa proved very short. Tullus Hostilius, a man of a warlike genius, was unanimously chosen king by the people, and accepted by the senate. He was grandson to a noble Roman, named Hostus Hostilius, who is said to have signalized his courage in Romulus's time, in the second battle with the Sabines, and to have married either the famous Hersilia or her daughter.

Tullus having riches enough in his own patrimony, both for the maintenance of his house-

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Tullus  
Hostilius  
Third King.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 22.

Year of  
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LXXXIII.

Tullus  
Hostilius  
Third King.

hold, and the expenses of the public worship, was no sooner upon the throne, than he distributed, among such of the citizens as remained unprovided for, those portions of the conquered lands which his predecessor had reserved for the royal demesnes, or set apart for the uses of religion : and thus he began his reign by a shining act of generosity, which gained him immediately the universal affection of his people.

This prince being not only generous and brave, but of an enterprising genius, found in himself a greater inclination to tread in the steps of Romulus than those of Numa : but the laws established by his pacific predecessor laying such restraints upon his martial ardour, as he could not instantly break through, he waited till fortune should be so favourable as to set him free : and it was not long before she furnished him with a pretext to open the temple of Janus.

II. THE Albans, upon the death of Romulus, seeing the race of their ancient kings extinct, had resumed their independence upon Rome ; and they chose their own governors. Cælius or (according to Livy) Cluilius was now at the head of affairs in Alba. He is sometimes styled king, by the historians, and sometimes dictator. His jealousy of the growing greatness of Rome, which by the conquests of Romulus, and the wise administration of Numa, was already become equal to any city in Italy, made him impatient to put a stop to its growth ; and having no plausible reason at present to

give his people for engaging them in a war with the Romans, he made use of the following stratagem to bring them into his sentiments and measures. He privately commissioned some of the vilest and most indigent of his subjects to go and ravage the Roman lands, not doubting but Rome would immediately fly to arms to revenge herself, and thereby give him a fair opportunity to make her pass, in the minds of the Albans, for the first aggressor, and the beginner of the war. Nor was Cluilius disappointed in his expectation. A Roman army entered the territories of Alba, attacked the robbers, slew many of them, and took abundance of prisoners. Cluilius being now sufficiently provided with matter for his purpose, convened an assembly of the people, inveighed against the Romans, produced a great many of the wounded, as also the relations of those who had been killed or taken, and, by exaggerating the losses which Alba had sustained, at length brought the assembly to this conclusion: that an embassy should be sent to the Romans to demand satisfaction of them, and, in case they refused it, that war should be declared.

When the ambassadors arrived at Rome, Tullus, guessing at their errand, resolved to prevent them, and be the first in demanding satisfaction; that so he might throw upon the Albans all the odium of the breach between the mother-city and the colony: for it had formerly been agreed between them, that they never should make war against one another,


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LXXXIII.

Tullus  
Hostilius  
Third King.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 137.

p. 138.

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R O M E  
LXXXIII.

  
Tullus  
Hostilius  
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till a reparation of the damages sustained on either side had been previously asked in a friendly manner. It was for this reason that Cluilius had hastened the departure of his deputies; but Tullus, no less artful than he, made use of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and he contrived to have them so agreeably entertained in the houses where they were lodged, that they neither cared to stir abroad, nor had any uneasiness about these delays. In the mean time, the Roman king sent an embassy to Alba, with orders to require satisfaction on the part of Rome, and to press the conclusion of the affair. A feclialis was at the head of the ambassadors, who, setting out before sun-rising, reached Alba the same morning. They found Cluilius in the midst of the public forum, and there discharged their commission, putting him in mind to conform himself to the old treaty of alliance: to which Cluilius briskly answered, "It is you alone who violate the treaty; my part has been already performed; I have sent ambassadors to your king, but to no effect; and I therefore declare war against you." The feclialis then asked him, whether that king, of the two, who first refused to hear the other's complaints, ought not to be deemed guilty of the first breach of the alliance; and, upon Cluilius's answering "Without doubt," the other invoked the gods to attest, that the Alban king was the first violator of it. After which he and the ambassadors instantly took their leave, and set out for Rome.

They were no sooner returned thither, but Tullus\* sent for the Alban deputies, received them in an obliging manner, and then enquired into the design of their embassy. These civilly made long excuses for the disagreeable commission with which they were charged; protesting, that they had accepted it contrary to their inclinations, and were very sorry to find themselves under a necessity to demand satisfaction of him, and to declare war, in case of a refusal. To which Tullus replied, "Go, tell your king, that the king of Rome calls the gods to witness, which of the two nations did first refuse the other satisfaction, that upon that nation they may heap all the miseries of this war."

The Roman fecialis had given Cluilius but thirty days to consider of the means to prevent hostilities. This time was employed on both sides, in making preparations for the war, and getting succours from their allies. At length, both armies took the field; Cluilius pitched his camp five miles from Rome, and fortified it with a good ditch (which continued long after, and was called Fossa Cluilia). King Tullus posted his Romans on an advantageous ground, within view of the enemy.

But now, whatever was the cause of it, the two armies were no sooner in sight of each other than their ardour for fighting cooled, and they both kept close within their intrenchments. This inaction made the Albans begin to murmur at their commander as the author of a fruitless war; so that, to free himself from

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\* Livy, B.  
1. c. 22.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 139.

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their reproaches, he resolved at length to offer the enemy battle; but the next morning, he was found dead in his tent with all his guards about him, and without any signs of violence.

Upon the death of Cluilius, the army saluted Metius Fuffetius dictator. He was a man of the same turbulent character, and in the same views with his predecessor; but, receiving advice that the Fidenates and Veientes intended to fall upon both armies when they would be weakened by a battle, he, instead of pursuing the war, desired a conference with the king of Rome, in order to a reconciliation. Tullus having received the same information, listened readily to the proposal. When the two commanders came to a parley, both of them expressed a willingness to have a union formed between the Albans and Romans. Tullus proposed, as the best means to make it durable and perfect, that all, or the chief of the Alban families should remove to Rome; or, in case they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common senate should be established to govern both cities, of which the more worthy should have the dominion over the other. The Albans who attended Fuffetius, and whom he took aside to consult with them upon these expedients, would by no means consent that Alba should be deserted by its inhabitants; but they approved of the motion for a common senate, and giving one city the command over the other. The only difficulty now was to settle which city should have the preference. Fuffetius spoke in favour

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 142,  
& seq.

p. 150,  
& seq.

of Alba, making this his chief plea, that she was the mother-city, from which Rome was but a colony; and Tullus urged, in behalf of Rome, her superiority of strength and grandeur. In the close of his speech, he offered to terminate the dispute by a single combat between himself and Fuffetius. The Alban general not being brave, or perhaps not thinking himself a match for Tullus, brought several prudential reasons, to prove that it would be better to choose three champions out of each camp, whose swords should terminate the contest, than to hazard the lives of the generals. This proposal Tullus accepted; and the chiefs retired into their intrenchments.

III. As soon as the conditions of the union of Alba and Rome were known in the two armies, there was in both of them a strong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being chosen to this important combat. Fuffetius cast his eyes on three brothers, whom he imagined the gods themselves had pointed out to be the champions for Alba; believing also, that three brothers who were then in the Roman camp, were under the like destiny of being the champions for Rome. It was the extraordinary circumstances of their birth, which made Fuffetius entertain this notion. Sequinius, an illustrious Alban, had two daughters; one he married to Curiatius, a citizen of Alba, the other to Horatius, a citizen of Rome; and these two women were brought to bed on the same day, each of three male children. The Horatian and Curiatian

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brothers were now in the flower of their age, and all six remarkable for their strength and dexterity in fighting. The Alban general having fixed his choice on the three Curiatii, and gained their consent, communicated his thought to the king of Rome, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three Horatii. Fate, said he, appears to have brought three champions on each side into the world, on purpose to decide by their swords the fortune of their countries. Tullus proposed the matter to the Horatian family, but would lay no injunction upon them. Old Horatius, the father of the three brothers, left them free to act as they would do if he were not living; and, when he understood that they, following the example of the Curiatii, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and embracing them, cried out, "I am a happy father;" and then commanded them to declare his consent to the king.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 24.

When the day appointed for the combat came, Tullus led the Horatii, and Fuffetius the Curiatii, into the plain between the camps; where the two kings, attended by their *feciales*, met in the middle of it, and, before the engagement, concluded a treaty in form.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The form of this treaty escaped the injuries of time, till Livy's days: he (B. 1. c. 24.) gives us the following account of it; and it served as a pattern, for the greater part, of the treaties which were afterwards made by the Romans.

First, one of the college of the *feciales*, named Marcus

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D. Hal. p.  
154.

And now the Alban and Roman champions advanced with a slow pace, each to meet his adversary. But in the instant, when the people expected to see them in a fierce encounter, they quitted their arms, and, with tears in their eyes, flew to embrace each other,

Valerius, demanded of king Tullus, "Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the pater patratus of the Albans?" The king answered, "He did." "Give me then," replied the herald, "some vervein" [the sign of his commission.] "Yes," answered the king, "bring me some that is pure." At these words, the feciales went and gathered some vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: "Do you then appoint me to be fecialis and plenipotentiary of Rome to the Albans, and engage to protect my equipage and retinue?" "Yes," replied the king, "as far as is consistent with my interest, and those of the Roman people:" and then Valerius the fecialis appointed Spurius Fusius to be pater patratus of the treaty, by crowning him with vervein. His office was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the Roman king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty.

After this ceremonial, which passed only among the Romans, the pater patratus read the articles of the convention in the presence of the Albans; and then expressed himself thus: "Hear, O Jupiter, hear, O pater patratus of the Alban people, hear, O Alban people: Of these articles as I have just now read them out of these waxed tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly understood, the Roman people will never be the first violators. If they should violate them by public authority and by fraud, may Jupiter at that instant strike them, as I shall now strike this hog! May thy stroke, great Jupiter! be as much heavier as thy power is greater." At which words he killed the hog, [that was to be offered up in sacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty] by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the Albans took the like oaths, and also offered their sacrifices.

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D. Hal. p.  
155.  
Livy, c. 25.

The spectators, greatly moved at this sight, began to murmur at their kings, who had engaged such tender and generous friends in a cruel rivalry for glory. A new scene quickly put an end to their pity, captivated all their attention, and employed all their hopes and fears. The triple combat began; and fortune, for a long time, held an even balance. At length, the eldest of the Horatii received a mortal wound, and fell; a second of the Roman champions had the same fate, and expired upon the body of his brother. The Alban army, hereupon, gave a great shout, while consternation and despair spread themselves through the Roman camp. The Roman cause however was not yet desperate; for <sup>4</sup>all the Alban champions were wounded, and the remaining Horatius unhurt, and undaunted. Nevertheless, he did not think himself able to sustain the attack of the three brothers at once, and therefore made use of a stratagem to separate them: he pretended fear, and fled before them. The Curiatii pursued him, but at unequal distances, and as their strength would permit. Horatius turned short upon the nimblest, and slew him. He then flew to the next, and, at one stroke, cut off his arm; after which he ran him through the body. The third was in no condition to fight. Being desperately wounded, he could hardly support himself on his buckler. Horatius cried out,

<sup>4</sup> Dionysius says, that there remained only two of the Curiatii, and that one was killed in the beginning of the fight, after the first of the Horatii.

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“To the glory of Rome I sacrificethee,” struck him on the throat, and, big with victory, seized the spoils of the vanquished. Thus ended the famous combat, which gave Rome the superiority over her mother Alba. Fuffetius immediately saluting king Tullus as his master, asked him, what were his commands? “I command you nothing,” said Tullus, “but to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes.” He likewise endeavoured to comfort the Albans, who were grievously cast down, by assuring them, that he would change nothing in their laws or form of government.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 26.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 158.

IV. BUT now, in the height of young Horatius’s joy, when his glory seems to have dazzled his own eyes, and to have made him forget that he was a man, he fell into a crime, that obscured the lustre of his exploit, brought disgrace upon him, and even merited, in strictness of justice, a much severer punishment. As he was returning to the city in a sort of triumph, his temples encircled with a crown the king had put upon his head, and his shoulders loaded with the spoils of the three Curiatii, he, to his great surprise, beheld his sister, unaccompanied by her mother, and without any attendance, hurrying forward in the promiscuous crowd to meet him. However, in his own mind, he excused the uncommon indecency, by imputing it to an impatient desire of seeing and congratulating her victorious brother. But, alas! the zeal which had brought her from home was of another

p. 156, 157.

Liv. c. 26.

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kind: one of the Alban champions had been her lover, and was to have been her husband. Upon the first report of his being slain, she had stolen from her mother, and was come, running like a distracted creature, to learn the certainty of his fate: and, when she saw the conqueror bearing in triumph her lover's military robe (a robe which she had wrought with her own hands) all stained with his blood, she tore her hair, beat her breast, and reviled her brother in the bitterest expressions. "Thou monster of wickedness," she cried, "how couldst thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations, whom thou hast so often called thy brothers? How couldst thou murder the man thy sister should have married?" Horatius, still warm with slaughter, and enraged at these reproaches, and the untimely grief of his sister, "Go then to thy lover, with thy unseasonable passion, thou, who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country. Thus let every Roman perish, who laments the death of an enemy to Rome!" As he uttered these last words, he stabbed her with his sword; and, without longer stay, without sign of pity or remorse, went straight on to his father's house. The father approved of the cruel deed, and refused to let his daughter be buried in the sepulchre of her family.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 159.


Nevertheless when king Tullus returned to Rome, Horatius was arraigned before him upon an accusation of murder; and some of the most eminent of the citizens concerned themselves in the prosecution. They thought

it of dangerous consequence to slacken the rigour of the laws in favour of any man, merely on account of his bravery or success in battle; and the law expressly forbad to kill any person whatsoever who had not been first condemned. This affair threw the king into some perplexity, being divided between his regard for the laws, especially in the case of murder, and the desire he had to save the young warrior, who had done him such important service. To avoid the odium he might bring upon himself by either acquitting or condemning the criminal, he, as Livy tells us, turned the affair into a state crime, and, having called the people together, named two commissioners or duumviri to try him as a traitor. This was conformable to the law, in cases of treason. The law ran thus: "Let two commissioners be appointed to try state crimes. If the criminal appeal from the sentence of these judges, let his appeal be received. If their sentence be confirmed, let him be hood-winked and hanged with a rope upon a cursed tree, having been first scourged either within or without the pomoerium." The fact of which Horatius was accused being notorious, and not disowned by the prisoner, the duumviri, without delay, pronounced sentence against him in these words: "Horatius, we judge you to be guilty of treason. Go, lictor, tie his hands." The executioner had already laid hold of him, when Horatius, by the king's advice, appealed to an assembly of the people; and this shews that the authority of the people was superior

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Livy, B. 1.  
c. 26.

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D. Hal. p.  
159, 160.

to that of the king. Horatius appeared there with the same undaunted resolution that he had shewn in his combat with the champions of Alba; and his father pleading for him, and even justifying the fact, the assembly, through admiration of his courage, rather than for the justice of his cause, revoked the sentence that had been passed against him. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, they condemned Horatius to pass under the yoke, an ignominy to which they usually subjected prisoners of war who had cowardly surrendered their arms. (The yoke was a kind of gallows, in form of a door case.) The king likewise appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the gods; and the pontifices erected two altars, one to Juno, the protectress of women, and another to Janus (deemed perhaps one of the guardian genii of men) now styled Curiatian Janus, from the name of Horatius's cousins whom he had slain. An annual commemoration of the thing was likewise ordered to be observed, with sacrifices on those altars; which altars, with the yoke under which Horatius passed, were still remaining in the time of Augustus. All the honour done to Horatius for his victory was erecting a square column in the middle of the forum, and hanging thereon the spoils of the Curiatii.

V. TULLUS did not forget the treacherous designs of the Fidenates, during his war with the Albans, and he at length resolved to take his revenge. But, to proceed regularly, he first cited them to appear before the senate of

Rome, and answer for their conduct. They, being conscious of guilt, and in secret intelligence with Fuffetius, who hoped to free himself from the Roman power, refused to obey, and, in conjunction with the Veientes, took the field. Fuffetius, in obedience to Tullus's orders, joined him with the Alban troops; but the day before the battle, he imparted to his chief officers his secret intention, which they approved. It was to stand neuter till fortune had decided the day, and then to fall upon that side which should be routed. Accordingly, just before the action began, he retired with his men to a hill. Tullus had notice of his desertion; and, in this distress, privately made a vow to add twelve priests to the college of the salii, and to build a temple to Fear and Paleness. Then telling his men, in the hearing of the enemy, that the motion Fuffetius had made was by his order, he confidently attacked the Fidenates, who being disheartened by the apprehension of treachery in the Albans, were easily routed; and then Fuffetius poured down from his hill upon the runaways. Tullus concealed his knowledge of Fuffetius's treachery, went privately in the night to Rome, consulted the senate, and returned to the camp before break of day. Instantly he detached Horatius\* with a chosen band of horse and foot to go and demolish Alba; and while these orders were executing, he commanded both the Roman and Alban troops to attend him unarmed, but with private instructions to the Romans to bring their

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D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 160.  
& seq.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 27, 28.  
29.

\* D. Hal.  
p. 167.

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D. Hal. p.  
172.

Livy, c. 30.

swords under their clothes. When they were all assembled, he made a speech to them, in which he laid open the perfidiousness of Fuffetius; and, in the conclusion, ordered him to be fastened to two chariots, and torn asunder, by driving the horses contrary ways. His chief accomplices were also put to the sword; but the king transplanted the rest of the Alban soldiers and citizens to Rome, and even admitted the principal of them into the Roman senate. Of these the historians particularly mention six families; the Julii, Quintii, Servilii, Geganii, Curiatii and Clælii: others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens.

This new increase of inhabitants obliged Tullus to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount Cælius, and allotted it for the Albans to settle upon (without excluding them from other parts of the city) and built his own palace there.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 172.

VI. THE Fidenates persevered in their revolt, and Tullus spent the winter in making preparations to attack them early in the spring. He then took the field, defeated them under the walls of Fidenæ, and obliged them to retire into the city; where, by cutting off all succours and provisions from it, he reduced them to such extremities that they surrendered at discretion. He punished the heads of the revolt, but suffered the rest to continue in their city, under their own form of government, only in dependence upon Rome. This com-

plete victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the enemy were carried as trophies.

And now the Romans, flushed with success, and strengthened by their union with the Albans, demanded satisfaction of the Sabines for the insults which some Roman citizens had formerly suffered from them at the temple of the goddess Feronia, (i. e. Flora or Proserpina) which stood at the foot of mount Soracte, upon the banks of the Tiber, and was frequented by both Sabines and Romans. The Sabines not being able to get succours, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only. At length they came to so bloody a battle with the Romans, that both armies, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their own countries, and attempted nothing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with greater fury. The two armies met near Eretum, a town about thirteen miles from Rome, and the battle continued long in suspense; till Tullus by making a vow to Saturn<sup>5</sup> and Ops, to institute a festival to their

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3. p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> These festivals of Saturn, and Ops, or Rhea, were kept at Rome, in the month of December, under the name of Saturnalia, and Opalia. They, properly speaking, were but one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to Saturn was fixed to the sixteenth of the calends of January; and that of Ops, which was likewise a part of the Saturnalia, to the fourteenth. D. Hal. attributes the origin of them to Tullus Hostilius's vow. Because all the fruits of the earth were gathered in in December, the Romans, therefore, fixed the festival of these deities in that month, one of which

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p. 175.

honour, so raised the courage of his men, that he obtained a complete victory. The Sabines submitted, and the senate prescribed the conditions of a treaty with them; which, when concluded, was written on pillars erected in holy places, that those pillars might be lasting monuments of the superiority of Rome.

So much success carried the Romans to make new pretensions. They summoned all the Latin towns, which had been dependent on Alba, to submit to the Roman laws. Upon this an assembly of the Latin nation was held at <sup>6</sup>Ferentinum, where it was resolved not to bow under the yoke of Rome; and two generals were chosen to command their forces. The Romans did not make war upon them in a regular way, but after the old manner of inroads and incursions, destroying their harvest.

represented the heavens and the other the earth, to whose united influences and power all fruits owe their production. These festivals were celebrated with mutual entertainments; the slaves themselves eat at their masters tables; which was not only to reward them for their labours in cultivating the earth, and gathering the fruits of it, but likewise to renew the remembrance of the golden age, in which all men were equal. Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their clothes, and reproving them for their faults. In this sense we are to understand Horace's applying himself to his servant,

————— *Age, libertate Decembri,*  
(*Quando ita majores voluerunt*) *utere : narra.*  
Sat. 7. B. 2. C. & R.

<sup>6</sup> The Ferentinum here spoken of, was in Latium near Monte Albano, in the same place where Marino now stands. C. & R.

Medulia, which had submitted to Romulus, and since revolted, was the only town taken by king Tullus, in this war.

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The Sabines, some years after, thinking themselves in a condition to take revenge upon Rome, invaded the Roman territory, and, in small parties, spread themselves all over it, to pillage, and the little opposition they met with, encouraged them to think of besieging Rome. But Tullus marched against them, and once more entirely defeated them near the Malefactors Forest.

D. H. B. 3.  
p. 174, 175.

VII. It is related, that king Tullus, when grown old, fell into superstition and credulity, and was much imposed upon by stories of prodigies, and voices from heaven, upon which occasion he ordered expiatory sacrifices for nine days, the time usually employed afterwards in expiations, when the people were terrified with prodigies. He is said also by some to have studied magic, and to have hid himself in a private place to perform a magical sacrifice, in order to raise Jupiter<sup>7</sup> Elicius; but that, omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, the god in a rage set his palace on fire by lightning, so that the king, his wife and children all perished in the flames.

Plut. Numa,  
p. 75.

Liv. B. 1.  
c. 31.

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<sup>7</sup>The art of raising some dæmon, under the name of Jupiter Elicius, was pretended to in Italy, from the times of the old kings of the aborigines. We are told, that Faunus and Picus practised it in their time; and that, by their enchantments, they forced this pretended divinity to appear to them by the side of a spring in Italy, and were by him enabled to raise a storm of thunder and lightning when they pleased. Arnob. B. 5. C. & R.

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Hostilius  
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D. Hal. p.  
176.

But others are of opinion, that Tullus died by the hands of Ancus Marcius, his successor; who, when the king and his whole family were met to perform a domestic sacrifice, first slew them, and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime.

p. 160.

Tullus had been more inclined to fighting, than to legislation. No law is mentioned to have been made by him but this, That whenever three male children should be born at a birth, they should, in memory of the Horatii, be brought up at the public expense. Generosity and personal courage were his chief merit. As for his rekindling in the Romans that love of war, and ambition of conquest, which his predecessor Numa had, during his long reign, so industriously extinguished, it conduced indeed much to the aggrandizing the Roman state, and getting it a name, but not much to the real happiness of its people.

## CHAP. V.

### ANCUS MARCIUS.

*I. Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, is chosen to succeed Tullus Hostilius. He declares war against the Latines in all the forms prescribed by Numa. He vanquishes the enemy in several battles, and takes many of their towns. II. He strengthens Rome by new fortifications, and builds Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He defeats the Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes, and Volsci. III. He dies, leaving two sons under the tuition of Lucius Tarquinius, a foreigner from Hetruria, who had settled at Rome.*

I. THE deceased king being looked upon as a man struck by the gods, no honours were

done to his ashes. After a short interregnum, the people and senate unanimously chose<sup>8</sup> Ancus Marcius (son of Pompilia, the daughter of Numa) to succeed Tullus. The new king began his reign, by endeavouring to restore Rome to the condition in which Numa had left it; to revive husbandry, and the neglected worship of the gods. He was ambitious of imitating his grandfather: but he soon found, that his devoting himself wholly to works of peace drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations.

The Latines pretending that their treaty with the Romans was no longer binding, than while king Tullus lived, had committed hostilities in the territory of Rome. Ancus determined to revenge it; nevertheless out of respect to the laws of Numa, he previously observed all the<sup>9</sup> forms appointed by him to be

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Ancus  
Marcius  
Fourth  
King.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 177,  
178.

<sup>8</sup> Every Roman had ordinarily three, and sometimes four names. The first was called prænomen, the second nomen, the third cognomen, and the fourth agnomen. The nomen shewed the family from which he was descended; the prænomen and cognomen were often nick-names, taken from the circumstances of the person's birth, or his defects, or his bodily qualities. And the last names were, to some, titles of honour, as those of Africanus, Germanicus, &c. Valerius assures us, that Ancus Marcius had his name of Ancus from the Greek word *ἀγκών*, because he had a crooked arm. C. & R.

<sup>9</sup> These forms were as follow. A feialis was deputed to go to the Latines: he no sooner arrived on the borders of that people, but he cried out, "Hear, great Jupiter, hear, ye confines of the Latine nation, let justice hear. I am a public messenger from the Roman people, I come justly and religiously commissioned; let credit therefore be given to what I say." After which he laid

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Ancus  
Marcius  
Fourth  
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used in declaring war. He then raised an entirely new army, marched to Politorium, a

open his demands; and then, having called Jupiter to witness, he added these words: "If I have unjustly and impiously made these demands [which were of persons or goods to be delivered up to him] mayest thou never suffer me to return to my own country." He repeated these words at his entering the Latine territory, then to the first person he met, then at the gate of the city, then in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not satisfied, he said, "O Jupiter, Juno, thou Romulus, and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and hell; hearken! I call you all to witness, that the Latines are unjust. We will therefore enter into the deliberations at Rome, on the proper means of obliging them to give us just satisfaction."

No sooner was the *fecialis* returned, but the king referred the affair to the senate: which he did in the form prescribed by Numa, addressing himself to every particular senator, in these very words: "Say, what think you of the refusal which the *pater patratus*, and whole nation of the Latines have given the *pater patratus* of the Romans, of restoring and granting us what we demanded of them?" To which every senator gave this answer: "Let us again demand our rights by just and lawful war: this is the opinion for which I declare myself." And when the greater part of the senators had declared their opinions in this manner, the war was considered as unanimously concluded on. Then the *fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was either headed with iron, or burnt at the end, and dipped in blood. When he came to the territory of the Latines, he pronounced the following prescribed form of words, in the presence of at least three persons, not under fourteen years of age: "On account of the damages which the ancient Latines have done the Roman people, and in obedience to a decree made by the senate and people of Rome, importing, that war be declared against the ancient Latines; I, and the Roman people declare it and begin it." At which words he threw a dart

Latine city, and surprised it. He shed no blood, nor destroyed the city, but transplanted the inhabitants to Rome; and these, with the inhabitants of Tellena and Ficana, two other cities of Latium, which he likewise took, he settled on the hill Aventinus\*, which he inclosed, and made a part of Rome, but without consecrating the boundaries.

The next year the Latines repeopled Politorium, which obliged Ancus to besiege it again; and upon the second reduction of it, he demolished it entirely. After this he led his troops four years successively to the siege of Medulia, which he at length took and plundered. Ficana, which he had neglected to demolish, he reduced a second time, and now destroyed it. The Latines, not discouraged, appeared in the field, but being defeated in one pitched battle, they durst not venture another. They divided their troops into small parties, and contented themselves with making incursions into the Roman territory; and Ancus, to oppose them, made a like division of his army, which he left to the conduct of Tarquinius (a foreigner lately come from He-

Year of  
R O M E.

Ancus  
Marcus  
Fourth  
King.

\* D. Hal.  
p. 182.  
p. 179.

upon the enemy's lands. (Livy, B. 1. c. 32.) All this ceremonial had been instituted by Numa; though that prince having never engaged in any war, had never put it in practice: and Tullus, who was of an active spirit, had not confined himself to these tedious formalities. But Ancus Marcius established the use of them; and from this time they were always practised. And it ought here to be observed, that at this time, no use was made of the king's name or authority in treaties: only the senate and the people are mentioned.

Year of  
R O M E.

Ancus  
Marcius  
Fourth  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
183.

Liv. B. 1.  
c. 33.

truria), and full of glory returned to his capital.

II. ROME was exceedingly enlarged in this prince's time, for, not content with carrying its walls round the Aventine hill, he likewise encompassed the hill Janiculum (which stood on the other side of the Tiber) with a wall, and made it a sort of citadel for Rome; and in order to have a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge, called Sublicius (the first perhaps known in Italy), over the Tiber, in that place where it washes the foot of the hill Aventinus. To suppress the licentiousness of the people, he next built a prison in the Roman forum. And lastly, observing that Rome lay open to surprises from an enemy, in those places where the country about it was low and flat, he caused a wide ditch to be dug there, which was ever after called Fossa Quiritium, because all the people were employed to make it.

When Ancus had finished these works of peace, the first enemies that felt the return of his martial disposition were the Fidenates, who being rebels, he did not send a *fecialis* to them, but marched straight to Fidenæ, which he besieged and took by sap; this being the first instance we meet with in Roman story of that kind of attack.

He next marched against the Sabines, who, since the death of king Tullus, believing themselves discharged from the engagements they had entered into with Rome, had renewed hostilities. He quickly forced them to sue for peace, and they obtained it on easy terms.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 180.

The four following years Ancus employed in enlarging the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in building the port and city of Ostia, and in digging salt-pits on the sea-shore. The distribution of salt which he made among his subjects at this time gave rise to those public liberalities, called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a measure in use among the ancient Romans, containing about a gallon.

Year of  
R O M E.

Ancus  
Maircus  
Fourth  
King.

D. H. B. 3.  
p. 183.  
Livy, B. 1.  
c. 33.  
Plin. L. 31.  
c. 7.

After this he twice defeated the Veientes, and was decreed a triumph by the senate; and, to reward the merit of Tarquinius, who had distinguished himself at the head of the Roman cavalry, the king promoted him to the rank of patrician and senator. The Volsci were next attacked, and Velitræ, their capital, besieged by Ancus; but the inhabitants, being reduced to extremity, and sending out their old men as suppliants, obtained first a truce, and afterwards a peace. The king of Rome then turned his arms against those of the Sabines, who had not yet been conquered. Success attended his expedition, and he returned triumphant to Rome, where he passed some time in tranquillity.

D. Hal. p.  
181.

p. 182.

III. ANCUS, after a reign of twenty-three or twenty-four years, (in which, according to Livy, he shewed himself not inferior to any of his predecessors, either in civil or military government), is said by Plutarch to have died by violence; but other writers speak of his death as altogether natural. He left two sons, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, and both under the guardianship of Tar-

Plut. in  
Num. p. 75.

Year of  
R O M E.

quinius, an able politician, who had found the secret to make himself equally the favourite of his master and of the people.

## CHAP. VI.

### TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

*I. The politic management of Tarquinius to obtain the kingdom. He is elected king, and adds to the senate a hundred new senators chosen out of the plebeians. II. The Latines renew the war against the Romans. Tarquin, by repeated victories over them, reduces them to sue for peace. At his return to Rome, he builds a circus for the Roman games. III. He totally subdues the twelve lucumonies of Hetruria. IV. He applies himself to cleanse and beautify Rome. V. He renews the war with the Sabines. He increases the number of the Roman knights. The adventure of Navius the augur. VI. Tarquin subdues the Sabines. VII. He marks out the area of a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, on the hill Tarpeius, afterwards called the capitol. He marries one of his daughters to Servius Tullius. VIII. The sons of Ancus conspire the death of Tarquin. He is assassinated in his own palace. The stratagem of queen Tanaquil to secure the kingdom to her son-in-law, who takes possession of it without being legally elected to the throne.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CXXXIX.

Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 184.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 34.

D. Hal. p.  
187.

**I. TARQUINIUS** was the son of Damarratus, a merchant of Corinth, who, to secure his great wealth from Cypselus, the tyrant of that place, had retired with it to Tarquinii, one of the most considerable cities of Hetruria. The Greek merchant married there a woman of distinction, by whom he had two sons, Arunx and Lucumo. The elder died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father not knowing it, and dying soon after him, left all his wealth to Lucumo: so that the posthumous son of Arunx, disin-

Year of  
R O M E  
CXXXIX.

Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.

herited before he was born, took the melancholy name of Egerius, from *egere*, to want. Lucumo, now in possession of all his father's immense riches, aspired to the highest dignities in Tarquinii; and his wife Tanaquil, an Hetrurian, was no less ambitious than he of his advancement; but he being looked upon as a stranger, this hindered him from rising to any considerable post. At the instigation of his wife therefore he resolved to remove, with all his effects, to Rome, where merit never failed of being rewarded with honours. No sooner was he admitted a citizen there, but he endeavoured to appear entirely Roman. He changed his names of Lucumo Damaratus, for those of Lucius Tarquinius; artfully insinuated himself into the king's favour; became popular by his liberalities and polite address; and, lest his great wealth should create suspicions of him, offered to deposit it in the public treasury, to supply the wants of the city. Besides all this, he distinguished himself by his military exploits (the surest steps to greatness,) and appeared to be no less able in council, than formidable in arms.

D. Hal. p.  
185.

p. 186.

Tarquin, as soon as the throne was vacant, turned his thoughts to bring on the election of a new king with the utmost expedition, before the elder of the late king's sons should be full fifteen; and, to keep him out of the sight of the people during the comitia, he sent him a hunting in the country. This aspiring Greek was the first who introduced into Rome the custom of soliciting for offices, and openly making interest to obtain them. Nay he did

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 35.

Year of  
R O M E  
CXXXIX.  
~~~~~  
Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

not scruple to extol his own merit in a public harangue, and to propose himself to the people for a successor to Ancus. As he had already gained them by money and caresses, he was chosen by a majority of votes; and the Roman people commanded him (for that was the term then used) to sit down at the helm of affairs. And then to strengthen his party in the senate, he created a hundred new senators, who were called *senatores minorum gentium*, because chosen out of plebeian families. But this name was never authorized by any public act. They had the same authority in the senate as the other senators, and their children were deemed patricians.

II. ALMOST all the nations subdued by the Romans, pretending that their treaties with them were no longer binding than during the lives of those princes by whom they had been subdued, Tarquin had inevitable wars to sustain. The Latines were the first who attacked him, but not the whole nation of them jointly. Tarquin besieged Apiolæ, took it by stratagem, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Crustumini, who had revolted, repented and submitted; the king treated them mildly, but settled a Roman colony among them. Nomentum likewise experienced the clemency of Tarquin upon its submission. Collatia being more obstinate, the king, after its reduction, disarmed and taxed the inhabitants, and placed a garrison there to keep it in subjection. He gave the sovereignty of this city to Egerius, his brother Arunx's son, who from thence took the name of Collatinus, which he trans-

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 186.

p. 187.

p. 188.

mitted to his posterity. Croniculum was besieged next, and after a brave resistance, was carried by assault, and reduced to ashes.

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CXXXIX.
Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

The fate of these cities induced several others to unite their forces to oppose the king's progress: but he defeated these forces in a bloody battle near Fidenæ; and then, taking advantage of the terror his victories occasioned, solicited those cities to enter into alliance with him; to which some of them consented, choosing rather to submit to a sort of dependance upon Rome, than to run the hazard of being reduced to a state of slavery. This submission so alarmed the rest of Latium, that, in a national assembly held at Ferentinum, they came to a resolution to employ their whole strength to oppose the torrent that threatened them: and they engaged all Sabinia, and a part of Hetruria, to join with them. In two actions the king vanquished these confederate armies; and then those Latine cities which had refused his alliance, sued for it and obtained it.

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 189.

p. 190.

Tarquin, at his return to Rome after so many victories, had the honour of a triumph, and he applied the wealth he had brought from the conquered cities to the building a circus¹ for

p. 191.

¹ Tarquin was of a Greek family: and this led him to think of building a circus at Rome, in imitation of the chief cities of Greece. The first circus which was ever built, and was a pattern to all the rest, was in Elis, where the olympic games were celebrated.

It is certain the Roman games were also called the great games: Livy (B. 1. c. 35.) assures us of it. Nevertheless, we must not from thence conclude, that all the

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Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

the Roman games, otherwise called the great games. The place chosen for this circus was sports which were celebrated in the circus, and which were called circenses, were the great games. Some were celebrated in the circus, to Ceres, Apollo, &c. which were different from the great or Roman games: nor were those called megalenses, the same with the great games. The former were celebrated before the nones of April, and the latter on the eve of the nones of September. Besides, the Roman games were instituted in honour of the great gods, whence they were called the great games; and the megalenses only in honour of Cybele. Lastly, the great games were instituted by the elder Tarquin; and the megalenses not till Junius Brutus's time, who appointed them to the honour of Cybele, then called *μεγαλήσια*, or the great goddess.

At one end of the circus stood the posts round which the chariots were obliged to turn; at the opposite end the chariots started, and on each side of the circus the spectators sate in two great galleries. It is certain, that the end where the turning-posts stood, described a portion of a circle: and it is probable the opposite end, where the chariots started, was semi-circular: but this is not absolutely certain.

Dion. Hal. plainly tells us, that this circus was three stadia and a half long and four jugera broad; and that one hundred and fifty thousand men could sit in it at their ease: but Pliny makes it only three stadia long. He probably omitted the half stadium, mentioned by the Greek historian, for the sake of a round number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the circus was, according to our measures. Now Pliny tells us, B. 1. ch. 3. the length both of the Roman stadium and jugerum. The former, according to him, contained six hundred twenty-five Roman feet, each of which feet contained twelve inches, or sixteen fingers-breadths: so that consequently the circus, as it was three stadia and a half, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven Roman feet long. And it being four jugera broad, each of which jugera contained, according to him, two hundred and forty Roman feet; it is

in the valley, which reached from the Aventine to the Palatine hill.

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Tarquin I.
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III. THE long war which this king waged with the Heturians, and the signal victories he gained over them, greatly advanced his glory, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce magnificence into his court. Heturia was a very large country, extending itself from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Apennine hills, and from Liguria to the Tiber. The Latines called the inhabitants of it sometimes Tuscans, and sometimes Heturians; but the Greeks more frequently, Tyrrhenians; who, possessing so much of the south coast of Italy, gave their name to the sea, which washes it. This great state was divided into twelve cantons called lucumonies², which were subject to twelve heads, who governed them with a sort of sovereign authority, under the name of lucumones. Sometimes one lucumony made war by itself; at other times the Heturians all joined in a national body, in defence of their common interests.

Strabo,
Pliny,
Mela.

from thence easy to infer, that the circus was nine hundred sixty Roman feet broad, and consequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was somewhat more than three English furlongs, very near half an Italian mile, or about a quarter of a French league. C. & R.

²The names of the capital cities of the twelve lucumonies were, according to Cluverius and Holstius, Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, Arretium, Volaterra, Vetulonium, Russellæ, Tarquinii, Volsinii, Cære, Falerii, and Veii. Heturia was long the mother of all the learning and politeness of the Romans: they sent their children thither to cultivate their minds, till the conquest of Greece furnished them with a better school. C. & R.

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R O M E.

Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 192,
193.

Tarquin having gained some advantages over certain of the Hettrurian lucumonies, this awakened the jealousy of the whole nation. Besides, they had reason to complain of a want of justice in the king of Rome, who had not only refused audience to the ambassadors they had sent to him with a reasonable demand, but had detained them as so many hostages for the obedience of the Hettrurians. The twelve lucumonies, therefore, came to a resolution to make war upon the Romans, and it was decreed, that if any city of Hettruria stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. They took the field, made themselves masters of Fidenæ by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, and ravaged the Roman territory. Tarquin, not being prepared, suffered them to go on without opposition till the next year, when he had put himself into a better condition to engage with them. He then divided his army into two bodies; the Romans he commanded himself, and gave the command of the allies to his cousin Collatinus. The latter, by his ill conduct, suffered a defeat: but the king routed the Hettrurians, first near Veii, and then under the walls of Cære.

p. 194.

Fidenæ being a key to the dominions of Rome, the conquest of it was of the utmost importance to her. The Romans therefore bent their forces that way, and after defeating the enemy in a sharp engagement, besieged the place, and took it. All those of the Fidenates who had been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were first whipped and then

beheaded; the rest were sent into banishment, and their lands distributed by lot among the Roman soldiers. Then Tarquin hastened to attack the Hettrurians once more, before the whole strength of the new army they were raising could be got together. He came up with them near Eretum, a small city of the Sabines, and gave them an entire overthrow; for which the senate decreed him a triumph. And now the lucumonies, despairing of any future success against the Romans, sent an humble deputation to ask peace; which Tarquin granted, without insisting on any other condition, than their owning his sovereignty over them. To this they readily agreed, and sent him all the ensigns of authority they had among them: a crown of gold; a throne of ivory; a sceptre with an eagle on the top of it; a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of ³palm branches; and a purple

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Tarquin I.
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D. Hal. p.
195.

³ This the Latines called *tunica palmata*. It is true, authors sometimes confound it with what they call *toga picta*: but these were two different ornaments, worn by those who triumphed: and it is necessary to show here the difference between them. The *tunica palmata* was not, properly speaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a vest, which was partly hid under the robe. It at first had no sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the Romans wore tunics, they shewed the difference of their rank, by that of their tunics. Some sewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were stuck on like the heads of nails; and hence comes the word *laticlavium*. Only the chief magistrates and senators, and general officers of the army, could wear these. The inferior magistrates, the Roman knights, and some other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but these flowers were smaller than the others: and from hence comes the name *angustus*.

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Fifth King.

D. Hal. p.
196.

robe enriched with flowers of various colours. But the king deferred the making use of these stately ornaments, till the people and senate had consented to it by an express decree: he then employed them in the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aside. In this triumph he rode in a gilt chariot drawn by four horses.

D. Hal. B.
3. p. 200,
201.

IV. HAVING now an interval of rest from his wars, he turned his thoughts to the fortifying, cleansing, and beautifying the city. He undertook to build the walls of Rome of hewn stone, and drained the low grounds about the forum, and between the hills, in order to the making those common-sewers⁴ which, when

ticlavium. As for those who triumphed, of whom we are now speaking, they, instead of embroidered flowers, wore purple palm branches upon their tunics, thence called *tunicæ palmatæ*. The *toga picta*, some think, was a robe common among the Romans, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a sort of very long mantle, which hung in great folds quite down to the ground, and which they put on upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as the tunics; and those of the knights with smaller. And the robes of those who triumphed were likewise probably adorned with palm branches, as their tunics were. At least, it is certain they were made of rich stuffs, and had some gold in them; and they were called *togæ pictæ*. Only two persons ever had the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, and in common, Paulus Æmilius and Pompey. C. & R.

⁴ All the arches of these common-sewers were of hard stone, and neither expense nor labour was spared to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were so considerable, that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass through them. But the greatest difficulty of the work was to convey the waters (which through these sewers were

made by the second Tarquin, were among the wonders of the world. He likewise adorned the forum, surrounded it with galleries, made shops in it for bankers and money-changers, erected temples, schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of public justice.

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~~~~~  
Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.

V. TARQUIN, after some time spent in these works of peace, entered into a new war with the Sabines, on pretence of their having assisted the Hetrurians; and he came to a battle with them, which lasted the whole day. The advantage was so equal on both sides, that the two armies stood in awe of each other, and retired into their respective countries, without committing any further hostilities the rest of the campaign. During the cessation of arms, Tarquin, considering that he had often been hindered from sufficiently pursuing the advantages of a victory, for want of horse, resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of the first institution: but as the first division of the horse into three corps had been determined by auguries, Attius Navius, the most famous augur of that time, opposed the

D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 196.

to carry off the filth) into the Tiber. It was necessary to cut through hills, and under the city, through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable stream, and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid foundations. The expense of this incomparable work was never so well understood as when it came to be repaired. The censors gave no less than a thousand talents to him who undertook to cleanse these sewers. C. & R.

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R O M E.

Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.

king's design as irreligious. Tarquin could not persuade himself that the augur was serious in this opposition, and therefore sent for the diviner into his presence, being resolved to confound and discredit, in him, that divining art, which superstition maintained to the diminution of the royal authority.

Livy, B. I.  
c. 36.  
D. Hal. B.  
3. p. 203.  
and Florus.

As soon as Navius appeared before Tarquin, in the midst of the forum, and in the sight of all the people, the king said to him, "Diviner, canst thou discover by thy art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and consult thy birds." The augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, answered, "Yes, Tarquin, my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done." Upon which Tarquin, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous smile, "I was thinking whether it were possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the gods into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do." At these words the people burst out into laughter, whilst Navius alone discovered no emotion. He addressed himself to the king with an air of assurance, and said, <sup>5</sup> "Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily submit to any punishment, if what you thought of be not done." Upon trial, the razor passed through the flint so easily and so suddenly, that, Tar-

<sup>5</sup> Livy says, Navius took the flint into his own hands, and cut it, in Tarquin's presence.

quin having given more force to it than was necessary, it wounded and drew blood from his hand. The people hereupon gave a great shout, the king's contempt for the augur turned into admiration, and, from this time, the augural science had a higher degree of credit in Rome than ever before. (Tarquin afterwards erected a statue of brass to the memory of Navius, in the place called comitium, where the public assemblies were held; and there it continued till the time of Augustus. The razor and flint, kept as monuments of the miracle, were deposited near the statue<sup>6</sup>, under an altar, at which they swore witnesses in civil causes.)

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D. Hal. p.  
204.

But though Tarquin laid aside his project of increasing the number of the corps of horse, he increased the number of the knights in each corps; making the Roman cavalry amount in all to one thousand eight hundred men.

VI. WITH this reinforcement the king marched out to renew the war with the Sabines, who had got succours from Hetruria, and were encamped near Fidenæ, by the place

D. Hal. p.  
191, 192.

<sup>6</sup> The reader will no doubt think it strange than an event related with so many circumstances, reported by all the writers of the Roman history, and adopted even by some of the fathers of the church, who, without questioning it, imputed it to magic, should be a mere fabulous invention: and yet this is the judgment which Tully himself formed of it, though an augur. "Look with contempt," says he to his brother Quintus, "look with contempt on the razor and flint of the famous Attius; when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables." Cic. B. 1. de Div. C. & R.

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Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.  
Liv. c. 37.

where the Anio joins the Tiber. The Heturians, posted on one bank of the Tiber, and the Sabines, on the other, had a communication by a bridge of boats. Tarquin, who had pitched his camp upon the Anio, at a little distance from the place where it discharges itself into the Tiber, perceived, that the current of that little river would carry into the Tiber any thing, which was sent down it; and that if the same wind, which then blew, continued, it would, with a little help, carry barks up the Tiber against the stream, and bring them to the enemy's bridge. With this view, he built flat-bottom boats, like rafts, and loaded them with dry wood, sulphur and rosin: and in the night, while the wind continued favourable to his design, he sent these fire-ships some down the Anio, and others up the Tiber, at the same time; so that the bridge, being thus invested on both sides with fire, was quickly all in a flame. The Sabines ran instantly to extinguish it; and, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, left their camp unguarded. Tarquin, who, to attack it, had, with the best part of his forces, marched out of his intrenchments while it was yet dark, was by break of day master of it. On the other bank, a detachment, which by his order had passed the Tiber in the night, fell suddenly upon the camp of the Heturians, in the instant that the bridge of boats took fire, which was the signal the king had given. The enemy, disconcerted and routed on both sides of the river, perished, some of them by the flames,

others by the sword, and others by leaping into the Tiber, to save themselves; and their arms, which floated down the stream, carried the news of the victory to Rome before the couriers, dispatched by the king, arrived there.

After this Tarquin would give his enemies no rest, but immediately entered the territory of the Sabines, whose misfortunes had not yet abated their courage. They ventured to face the Romans, with an army tumultuously assembled. Being once more routed, they sued for peace, but the king did not think fit to grant them more than a truce.

This truce was no sooner expired, than the Sabines passed the Anio, and made incursions on the territory of Rome; but though they were equal in numbers and bravery to the Romans, Tarquin, in a pitched battle, defeated them by the stratagem of detaching a body of horse, which fetched a compass and came upon their rear during the action. The Sabines imputing their ill success to the incapacity of their general, chose a more experienced commander for the next campaign. The king of Rome appeared early in the field, and shewed himself to the enemy: and when he found that their new general, not having got together all his troops, avoided a battle, and kept within his camp, he blockaded him there, and reduced him to the utmost extremity for want of provisions: however, the latter, taking the advantage of a dark stormy night, marched his army secretly out of his intrenchments, and stole off; and thus the campaign ended.

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Tarquin I.  
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~~~~~  
Tarquin I.
Fifth King.
D. Hal. p.
198.

The next year, the Sabines, pleased with the conduct of their general, took courage again, enlisted all their youth capable of bearing arms, and formed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. Tarquin on the other side augmented his forces with troops from Latium, Hetruria, and all his allies, and divided them into three armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commanded the Romans himself, put his nephew Collatinus at the head of the Hetrurians, and gave the command of the Latines and other allies to Servius Tullius, a foreigner, who had been a slave, and had since obtained the privileges of a Roman citizen. The battle lasted the whole day; and Tarquin obtained the victory; but not till he had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, to build them a magnificent temple. While he was marching afterwards to besiege the Sabine cities, they sent deputies to him to sue for peace, offering to give him possession of their fortified places, and of all their country, if he would grant them tolerable conditions. He treated them favourably, as he had done the Hetrurians; and then, returning to Rome, entered it in triumph, and with the same pomp as after the conquest of Hetruria.

p. 199.

p. 201.

VII. THE victorious king did not forget his vow to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. He levelled the top of the hill Tarpeius (formerly Saturnius), marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of it.

Navius the augur, having been consulted about what part of Rome Jupiter would like best to be placed in, had declared for the hill Tarpeius: but then a difficulty arose about removing the gods, who had already got possession of this hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury, it was discovered, that they were all willing to be removed, except the god ⁷Terminus, and the goddess Youth, who having no mind to go, was afterwards inclosed within the walls of the temple, the area of which was now dedicated by Navius.

Year of
R O M E.

Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

D. Hal. p.
202.

This famous augur soon after disappeared. He was supposed to be murdered; and the people were very inquisitive after the authors of his death. The sons of Ancus Marcius endeavoured to fix the calumny upon the king, and accused him publicly. Tarquin attempted in vain to appease the tumult which they excited; Servius Tullius, the king's son-in-law, and the most popular man in Rome, was obliged to employ all his credit to quiet the rage of the people. At length the falseness of the accusation being known, the sons of Ancus were detested for having raised the slander. However, Tarquin pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father.

p. 205.

He was more severe to Pinaria, a prostitute vestal. He caused her to be buried alive, and the man who had dishonoured her to be whip-

p. 200.

⁷ Livy, B. 1. c. 55. places this fact of the unwillingness of Terminus to remove, in the reign of Tarquin the proud.

Year of
R O M E.

Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

D. Hal. p.
204.

Livy, B. I.
c. 40.

D. Hal. p.
205, 206.

ped to death. Nevertheless, he did not lose his esteem for the class of vestals; on the contrary, he added two to their number, augmenting it to six.

VIII. TARQUIN being now eighty years old (of which he had reigned thirty-seven) and drawing near his end, the ambition of the sons of Ancus grew more active. They always remembered with indignation the arts by which their guardian had secured to himself their father's kingdom, nor could they brook to see a foreigner sit upon the Roman throne to their prejudice: but when they perceived that the kingdom was not likely to pass to them, even after the death of Tarquin, but that Servius Tullius would probably succeed his father-in-law, they no longer set any bounds to their resentment. "What!" said they, "while we, the sons of Ancus Marcius, are living, shall the Roman throne lie open, not only to strangers, but even to slaves?" Nevertheless, they bent their fury rather against the life of Tarquin than of Servius, both because the revenge of a king was more to be dreaded than that of a private man, and because, should they destroy Servius, Tarquin might provide himself another son-in-law to succeed him. The method they took to compass the death of the old king was this: they hired two young men who dressed themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers: these going near the king's palace pretended to have a quarrel about some goats. The noise

they made reaching the inmost rooms of the palace brought the officers of the court about them, who carried them before the king, to whom they both appealed. At first they began to bawl and rail at each other till they were restrained by a lictor, and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story, and, while the king was wholly attentive to it, the other lifting up his hatchet gave him a great cut in the head; after which, leaving his weapon in the wound, he instantly ran out of doors with his fellow. But, while some of the company hastened to assist the wounded king, others pursued the ruffians and seized them; and being put to the torture, they confessed by whom they had been employed. By this time there was a great concourse of people at the palace wondering at the attempt, and curious to know the event.

Queen Tanaquil did not lose her presence of mind on this occasion. She cleared the palace of the crowd, shut herself up in the apartment of the expiring king, with only her son-in-law, Servius Tullius, his wife, and Ocrisia his mother, and pressed him to ascend the throne, that Tarquin's two grandsons⁸ might be safe under his protection: "Servius, if thou art a man, the kingdom is thine, and not theirs who have committed the greatest villany by the hands of other men. Take

Year of
R O M E
CLXXIV.

Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

D. Hal. B.
4. p. 209.
& seq.

⁸ It is much contested whether the children here spoken of, Lucius Tarquinius and Arunx, were the sons or grandsons of Tarquinius Priscus. Dion. Hal. contends warmly for the latter opinion.

Year of
R O M E
CLXXIV.


Tarquin I.
Fifth King.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 41.

courage then, and follow the gods thy conductors, who foretold thy future glory by the divine ⁹fire which shone round thy head. Let that celestial flame now warm thee. Rouse thyself in earnest. We who were strangers have reigned here. Think who thou art, not of whom thou wast born; and if thy counsels are at a stand by reason of this unexpected accident, follow mine." She then opened the window which looked upon the street, and bid the people be in no concern; she told them that the wound was not deep, that the king was stunned with the sudden blow, but was come to himself again, and she hoped they would see him very shortly; that in the mean time he ordered them to obey Servius Tullius, who would administer justice to them, and perform all other kingly offices. This stratagem succeeded. The report that the king would soon be well again, and appear in public, being spread and believed, this so terrified the sons of Ancus, that they went of their own accord into banishment to Suessa Pometia.

The second day after the murder of Tarquin, Servius Tullius, attended by the lictors, sat on the throne in the royal robes, and heard causes; some he decided, and upon others he pretended he would consult the king. As it became him to revenge the attempt against the person of his sovereign,

⁹ A report had been carefully propagated, that when Servius was a child, and asleep, a sudden light or flame, in form of a crown, encompassed and rested upon his head:

he accordingly cited the sons of Ancus to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance, they were declared infamous, and their estates confiscated. The regent continued for some time to act this part, and so managed his affairs, as to gain the hearts of the Romans, by his prudent administration. At length, when he thought his authority sufficiently established, the death of Tarquin was proclaimed as a thing recent, with loud lamentations, and Servius performed magnificent obsequies for him : after which, without being legally elected king, either by ¹senate or people, he continued to hold the reins of government, appearing in public with a strong guard, and with all the ensigns of royalty.

Year of
R O M E
CLXXIV.
~~~~~  
Tarquin I.  
Fifth King.

<sup>1</sup> Livy says, that Servius Tullius took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the fathers.

## CHAP. VII.

## SERVIUS TULLIUS.

*I. The birth and education of Servius Tullius. The honours he pays to the goddess Fortune upon his elevation to the throne. II. The patricians conspire to dispossess him. He gains the people to his interest, is legally elected king by the curiæ, and though the senate refuses to confirm this election, keeps possession. III. Servius defeats the rebellious Heturians. He enlarges Rome, and adds a fourth tribe to the three old ones. He institutes the compitalia in favour of slaves. He divides the Roman territory with its inhabitants into tribes. He marries his two daughters to Lucius Tarquinius and Aruns, the grandsons of the late king. He*

*subdues the Hetrurians. IV. Servius divides the Roman citizens into six classes, and these into centuries. He institutes the census and the lustrum, and coins money. V. He gives the liberti or freed-men the privilege of Roman citizens. VI. He reforms the regal power, and executes a scheme for securing to the Romans the fidelity and friendship of the Latines and Sabines. VII. The wicked intrigues of Tarquin and the younger Tullia. Tarquin accuses the king of usurpation before the senate. Servius pleads his cause there, but appeals to the people, and is by them confirmed on the throne. VIII. Tarquin regains the king's favour by submissions, but soon after causes him to be murdered, and usurps the kingdom.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CLXXV.  
to  
CCXIX.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 206.

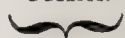
I. SERVIUS Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, was the son of Ocrisia, a woman of extraordinary beauty and distinguished virtue, taken captive at the sacking of Corniculum: but who his father was is uncertain. Dionysius reports that one Tullius, a warrior of royal extraction, and killed in the defence of that city, was the husband of Ocrisia, and at his death left his wife with child of this son. Tarquin made a present of the fair captive to queen Tanaquil, who being soon after apprised of her quality and merit, conceived a particular esteem for her, and restored her to freedom. Nevertheless, Ocrisia's son, being born while she was yet in a state of servitude, had thence the name of Servius. This is Dionysius's account. But Plutarch will have Ocrisia to have been a virgin at the time of her falling into captivity, and to have afterwards married one of the king's clients, by whom she had Servius Tullius. Nor have there been wanting writers who have given this prince a

Plut. de  
Fort. Rom.  
p. 323.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 207.

divine origin, and made him the son of Vulcan, a fable which probably owed its rise to another fable reported for truth by Tanaquil and Ocrisia, of a sudden flame, in form of a crown, which surrounded the head of Servius when he was a child and asleep.

Year of  
R O M E  
CLXXV.  
to  
CCXIX.

  
Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

From such different accounts, as also from the silence of the capitoline marbles on this head, it is pretty certain that nothing was less known to the historians than the true<sup>2</sup> descent of Servius. In these things however they all agree, that king Tarquin and his queen had the same tenderness for the son of Ocrisia as if he had been their own offspring, and took the same care of his education; and that, nevertheless, it was chiefly to his own wise, noble, and uniform conduct that he owed his gradual elevation to the highest step of honour.

Servius Tullius distinguished himself by his military achievements, even before he was arrived to the age of manhood. The reputation of a brave warrior, which he then acquired, increased as he advanced in years; and this, with his amiable, polite manners, his eloquence, and his extraordinary ability in council, so gained him the esteem and affection of the people, that with unanimous approbation he was raised to the rank of a patrician and to a place in the senate. The king and queen

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Father Catrou thinks it strange that none of the historians have made Tarquin himself the father of Servius; but would it not have been more strange if any of them had, since Tarquin thought fit to marry him to one of his daughters?

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Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

Plut. de  
Fort. Rom.

nevertheless did not originally intend him the honour of an alliance with the royal family. They married him to Gegania, a Roman lady of illustrious birth; and it was only after her death that they first thought of giving him their daughter Tarquinia: but after this alliance the king reposed an intire confidence in him for the management both of his domestic concerns, and the affairs of the public; in which latter Servius acquitted himself so well, that the people were quite indifferent whether they were governed by him or Tarquin; and this it was that made it so easy for him to seat himself on the throne upon the death of his father-in-law.

Plut. Quæst.  
Rom. p. 281.

As Servius, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon himself to be wholly indebted to Fortune for his grandeur, the first homage he paid, after he was king, was to this goddess; and he erected an incredible number of altars and temples to her, styling her by various epithets: and being resolved to make the peaceful Numa his pattern, and aspire to fame by establishing as much order in the civil polity of Rome as that wise prince had done in the religious, he, like him, pretended to have private conversations with a goddess, and Fortune was his Egeria.

D. Hal. p.  
213.

II. BUT how much soever Servius had been favoured by his goddess in possessing himself of the government, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances. The patricians especially were much dissatisfied with the little respect he had shewn to the ancient usages,

upon the demise of a king. He had ascended the throne without being elected to it, and only as a regent: there had been no interregnum as formerly. Complaints of these things were first dropped in private assemblies, but soon improved into almost a general conspiracy; and the senators agreed among themselves, that the first time they met they would force the king to lay aside his royalty. Servius, in this emergency, applied himself to gain the people, and employ their power against that of the patricians. Among his other natural endowments, he had a ready and lively eloquence, proper to make impressions on a multitude. When therefore he had convened the people, having with him the two grandsons of the late king, one on each hand, he made a speech to the assembly to this effect: "See here, illustrious Romans, the tender offspring of one of your greatest kings. The bare sight of them will bring to your remembrance the virtues and victories of their grandfather. A melancholy death and cruel parricide robbed you of him, and left his posterity exposed to the artifices and fury of his assassins. I alone received a charge from the dying king to protect these helpless children in their infancy: and to this I found myself pre-engaged, both by the alliance I had made in Tarquin's family, and by the favours heaped on me by that generous prince. Be you, Romans, their joint guardians with me; and whatever gratitude you owe me for the services I have formerly done you, which I need not remind you of,

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Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. p.  
214.

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Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

let it all be transferred to these my pupils. But why should I employ many words with you in their favour? You know what is fit to be done, and will do it. I shall now only tell you the benefits I have resolved to procure for you; and it was for this reason I called you together. You shall no longer be the slaves of your creditors, nor bear the chief burthen of the public taxes. I will provide remedies for both these evils. It is not just, that the lands which are conquered at the expense of your toils and blood, should be distributed only among the most audacious of the great; whilst you continue without a foot of land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the estates of others for hire. You have long enough borne the contemptuous usage of the patricians who hardly look upon you as freemen, because you are poor. I will never rest till I have established you in perfect liberty." Nor was this harangue of the king mere empty words: for a few days after he commanded all the insolvent debtors to send him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors; and then causing computing-houses to be opened in the Roman forum, he there paid all with his own money. He likewise published an edict, commanding all such as had usurped any lands belonging to the public to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered those of the citizens who had no land of their own to petition for them. And, lastly, he made some new laws, which retrenched certain pretended privileges, made use of by the patricians, in

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 216.

p. 245.

their lawsuits with the plebeians, to vex and oppress them.

But though the inclinations of Servius Tullius led him more to works of peace, and civil government, than to military exploits, he found himself obliged to embark in a war. It proved a very long one, but brought much glory both to the Roman people, and to their king. The Veientes, whom Tarquin had often subdued, refused now to recognize the sovereignty of Rome, and had lately treated with scorn some ambassadors sent from thence to claim their submission. "We entered," said they, "into no treaty with the son of a slave; nor will we ever submit to Servius's dominion. Tarquin is dead, and our obligations to be subject to the Romans are dead with him."

This confidence of the Veientes proceeded partly from the hopes they had of profiting by the dissensions between the king and senate of Rome. They therefore prepared for war, and drew two other lucumonies, viz. those of Cære and Tarquinii, into their party. But Servius, by his courage and conduct, subdued these confederates, and, judging it proper to make them examples of severity, because they had been the aggressors, he deprived them of their lands, and transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of Rome, as had yet no lands of their own: after which, supported by his own glory and the favour of the people, he obtained the honours of a triumph, in spite of the hatred of the senate.

Year of  
R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

Year of  
R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 231.  
p. 216.

p. 217.

p. 218.

The senators now finding the people entirely well affected to the king, suppressed their complaints, lest if they insisted on an interregnum, it should occasion a legal election of Servius by the *curiæ*. This prince had too much penetration not to see into the mystery of their policy, and therefore resolved to make advantage of the present favour of the multitude, to render his title to the throne less disputable. He assembled the citizens, and in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of Ancus, "And this," said he, "for no other reason but the kindness I have shewn to the plebeians." In the conclusion of this harangue he left the kingdom absolutely to their disposal, and begged them to determine between him and his pupils on one side and their competitors on the other. "If you give sentence against us, these children, with the rest of Tarquin's family and blood, shall immediately leave the city. As for me, I have lived long enough for the views of virtue and glory: nor when I have once lost the hearts of you, my people, which I value above all things else, will I consent to drag on an ignominious life among strangers. Take then these fasces, and if you so think fit, give them to the patricians; I will trouble you no more with my presence." As he ended these words he stepped down hastily from the tribunal, in order to leave the assembly; but they called to him to stay, intreated him to

be their king, and even used violence to stop him. Some cried out, "Let the curiæ be assembled, that we may elect Servius without delay." Accordingly a day was appointed; and, when the day came, he was chosen king. However the senate could never be brought to confirm this election; and their faction was so formidable, that Servius deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people: but imparting his perplexities to Tanaquil, she encouraged him, and even took an oath of him, whereby he engaged himself not to resign the kingdom. This magnanimous queen died soon after; and the king, to immortalize her domestic virtues, the true glory of a woman, hung up her distaff in the temple of Hercules.

III. As Servius was now resolved to continue on the throne, the Heturians furnished him with an opportunity to augment his glory. His victory over them obtained him the honour of a second triumph. An interval of rest after this war he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning the city. Romulus had inclosed at first only the hill Palatinus, and afterwards added the hill Tarpeius; to these Numa joined the Quirinalis: Tullus Hostilius took in the hill Cœlius; Ancus Marcius inclosed mount Aventine, and joined the Janiculum to the city by a wooden bridge; Tarquinius Priscus only built the walls of Rome of hewn stone, without enlarging its bounds; but Servius\* inclosed within its limits the hills Esquilinus and Viminalis, on the first of which he fixed his own

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R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

Plut. de  
Fort. Rom.

\* D. Hal.  
B.4. p. 218.

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R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. H. B. 4.  
p. 220.

palace, in order to draw inhabitants thither; and he added a fourth tribe to the <sup>3</sup>three of Romulus's division, and called it *tribus esquilina*.

This king, in order to have an exact register of the inhabitants of Rome, obliged every one to stay in the tribe wherein he was born; and he likewise made a law, that a piece of money should, upon every death, be paid into the temple of the goddess Libitina, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of Juno Licina, upon every birth; and another into the temple of Youth, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By this means it became easy to know the number of the Roman citizens, and who of them were able to bear arms.

p. 219.

It was partly perhaps to do honour to his first condition, that Servius made an institution in favour of slaves. He erected little wooden oratories in all the cross-ways, dedicated to the *Dii Compitales*, or gods of the cross-ways, and commanded that slaves only should be priests to these gods. They had their particular festival, on which masters gave the slaves rest from all labour.

<sup>3</sup> The three tribes of Romulus's division were called the tribe of the *Rhamnenses* or *tribus palatina*; the tribe of the *Tatienses* or *tribus suburana*; and the tribe of the *Luceres* or *tribus collina*.

As taxes were raised by laying a certain sum on each tribe, it was hence, as Varro tells us, that those taxes were called tributes and contributions; though Livy says that the Roman tribes were so called from the tributes levied on them.

To establish equal order throughout the Roman state, Servius disposed into distinct <sup>4</sup> tribes all the citizens that dwelt in the country; and he ordered, that in each of these country tribes there should be one place of refuge, situated on a steep hill, to secure the effects of the peasants upon sudden alarms. These strong holds he called pagi, which signifies villages or boroughs; and he appointed a festival, called paganalia, to be held every year in each of these pagi. All the peasants of the several tribes were to be present at the yearly sacrifices offered to the tutelary gods of their respective villages, and every person was to bring a piece of money, the men a piece of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third sort, to be paid into the hands of those who presided at the sacrifices. By counting these pieces of money

Year of  
R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> What the number of these tribes was, into which Servius divided the freemen of Rome who lived in the country, seems to be uncertain. The learned jesuits, fathers Catrou and Rouillé, make it to be just fifteen, but they give no reason for their conjecture. They offer good reasons why the number could not be thirty-one, as Dionysius (following Venonius an ancient author) believed. For according to the same Dionysius there were in all, including the four city tribes, but twenty-one who voted at Coriolanus's trial many years after. Livy and Florus speak of an augmentation of the tribes in the year two hundred and fifty-eight, after which augmentation the number was but twenty-one: and Livy afterwards speaks of another addition of tribes. Now the whole number of Roman tribes never exceeded thirty-five, which number would have been complete in Servius's time, according to Venonius's account.

Year of  
R O M E.



Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

they learnt the exact number, age, and sex of the persons belonging to each tribe.

In the midst of his cares for the public safety this provident king did not forget his own. His two wards Lucius Tarquinius and Aruns being now sufficiently advanced in years to be capable of disturbing his government, should they prove ill affected to him, he, the better to secure their fidelity, married them to his two daughters: and though the elder of these daughters, being of a mild and virtuous disposition, resembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters who was violent and vicious, yet he thought it most advisable to match them according to priority of birth, that so the mildness and discretion of the elder Tullia might restrain the dangerous impetuosity of Lucius, and the vivacity of the younger Tullia quicken the unambitious indolence of Aruns.

During the public rejoicings for this double marriage, the Hetrurians were preparing to make war upon the Romans in a national body. The historians have not been particular in their accounts of this war; they only tell us that Servius, by repeated victories over them, reduced them to ask peace, and to submit to him upon the same conditions on which they had submitted to his predecessor: and that for this success he was honoured with a third triumph.

IV. AFTER this the king returned to the pursuit of his political schemes. Taxes had

been hitherto levied upon the people at so much a head, without distinction of rich and poor, and as both sorts were equally obliged to serve in the field at their own expense, it was often very hard upon the poorer sort. There was likewise this farther inconvenience in the present government of affairs, that, as war and peace, the creation of magistrates and the making and abrogating of laws were determined by a majority of the *curiæ* assembled, and as in these *curiæ* the rich and the poor, the patrician and the plebeian, were mingled without any distinction, and every man's voice was of equal value, the indigent and ignoble, though less qualified to judge, and more easily corrupted, yet being vastly the more numerous, had in these assemblies a greater share in all decrees than the noble and wealthy. Servius formed a project to remedy these evils. He ordered all the Roman citizens under the severest penalties to give an account in writing of their names and ages, with those of their fathers, wives, and children. He further obliged all the heads of families to deliver in upon oath a just estimate of their effects, and to mention the places of their residence, whether in town or country. Having got information of these things, he undertook to ease the poor, by burthening the rich, and yet to please the latter, by augmenting their power.

To this end, he divided the Roman citizens into six classes: and as all the soldiery was to be raised out of these, he appointed them

Year of  
R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. p.  
221, & 222.

Year of  
R O M E.

Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 43.  
322l. 18s.  
4d.  
Arbuth.

offensive and defensive arms, according to their dignity and pre-eminence. The first class consisted of those, whose estates in land and effects were worth at least a hundred thousand asses of brass, according to the Latin way of computing, or ten thousand drachmæ, according to the Greek. This first class was subdivided into fourscore centuries, or companies of foot, forty of which companies were made up of young men; that is, of such as were from seventeen to forty-five years of age, and these alone were obliged to take the field: the other forty companies of the same class were old men; that is, such as were past forty-five, whose only duty was to defend the city. Every soldier of this first and most honourable body of the Roman infantry was defensively armed with a small oval shield after the Greek fashion, an helmet of brass, a cuirass, and cuisses of the same metal; and their weapons were a pike, a javelin, and a sword. To these fourscore centuries of foot, Servius joined eighteen centuries of Roman knights, who fought on horseback. Hitherto there had been but three centuries of knights. What number of men they contained is uncertain. Livy tells us, that of these three centuries, Servius made six, and added twelve new centuries to them, and ordained that this considerable body of horsemen should be at the head of the rich class: because, doubtless, the estates of these knights exceeded the sum necessary for being admitted into this first class. But though they were rich, yet the

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 43.

public supplied them with horses; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempt from all other contributions, for maintaining their horses. This first class, including infantry and cavalry, consisted of ninety-eight centuries.

Year of  
R O M E.  
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Servius
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The second class comprehended those Romans whose estates were worth at least seventy-five thousand asses of brass, or seven thousand five hundred drachmæ. It was divided into twenty centuries of soldiers, all foot: ten of young men, and ten of old. And to these twenty were joined two other centuries of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers for the engines of war; so that the second class contained in all twenty centuries. The soldiers of this class were armed like those of the former; with this only difference, that they had no cuirass, and instead of the small oval shield had a buckler of the figure of an oblong square, which almost covering their whole body made the cuirass needless.

D. Hal. B.
4. p. 221.

242l. 3s. 9d.

In the third class were those, who were esteemed worth fifty thousand asses, or (which amounts to the same) five thousand drachmæ. These wore no defensive armour but the helmet and square buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the pike, javelin and sword. These were also divided into twenty centuries.

161l. 9s. 2d.

The fourth class consisted of such as were worth twenty-five thousand asses, or two thousand five hundred drachmæ, and this likewise contained twenty centuries, ten of old men, and ten of young; and to these were

80l. 14s. 7d.

Ibid. p. 222.

Year of
R O M E.

Servius
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added two other centuries of trumpets and blowers of the horn, who supplied the whole army with this martial music. The soldiers of this class had no defensive arms but a square buckler; their offensive ones were the same with those of the former.

In the fifth class were included those whose whole substance did not amount to more than twelve thousand five hundred asses, or one thousand two hundred and fifty drachmæ. They were divided into thirty centuries, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not suffered to wear any defensive armour, and their only weapons were slings and darts.

The sixth class comprehended all those who either had no estates, or were not worth so much as the soldiers of the fifth class. The number of them was so great, as to exceed that of any of the other classes, yet they were reckoned but as one century.

By this enumeration we see that the Roman people were, in Servius's time, divided into one hundred and ninety-three centuries⁵,

⁵ It may be proper here to explain, once for all, the difference between the three sorts of comitia successively established in the Roman government, with the manner in which the people gave their votes in these assemblies.

The comitia, according to Sigonius's definition, were general assemblies of the people lawfully called by some magistrate, for the enjoinder or prohibition of any thing by their votes*.

The proper comitia were of three sorts; *curiata*, *centuriata*, and *tributa*; with reference to the three grand divisions of the city and people into *curiæ*, centuries, and tribes: for by *comitia calata*, which we sometimes meet

* Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom. l. I. c. 17.

43l. 7s. 3½d.
A. Gel. B.
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reckoning the whole sixth class as but one century: and, after a full enquiry, it appeared

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with in authors, in elder times were meant all the comitia in general; the word *callata*, from καλέω or *calo*, being their common epithet; though it was at last restrained to two sorts of assemblies, those for the creation of priests, and those for the inspection and regulation of last wills and testaments*.

The comitia curiata owe their original to the division which Romulus made of the people into thirty curiæ; ten being contained under every tribe. They answered, in most respects, to the parishes in our cities, being not only separated by proper bounds and limits, but distinguished too by their different places set apart for the celebration of divine service, which was performed by particular priests (one to every curia) with the name of curiones.

Before the institution of the comitia centuriata, all the grand concerns of the state were transacted in the assembly of the curias; as, the election of kings, and other chief officers, the making and abrogating of laws, and the judging of capital causes. After the expulsion of the kings, when the commons had obtained the privilege to have tribunes and ædiles, they elected them for some time at these assemblies: but that ceremony being at length transferred to the comitia tributa, the curiæ were never convened to give their votes, except now and then upon account of making some particular law, relating to adoptions, wills, and testaments, or the creation of officers for an expedition; or for the electing of some of the priests, as the flamines, and the curio maximus, or superintendant of the curiones, who themselves were chose by every particular curia.

The power of calling these assemblies belonged at first only to the kings; but upon the establishment of the democracy, the same privilege was allowed to most of the chief magistrates, and sometimes to the pontifices.

The persons who had the liberty of voting here, were such Roman citizens as belonged to the curia; or such as

* A. Gell. l. 15. c. 27.

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D. Hal. B.
4. p. 225.

that the number of freemen, who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to eighty-four thousand seven hundred.

actually lived in the city, and conformed to the customs and rites of their proper *curiæ*; all those being excluded who dwelt without the bounds of the city, retaining the ceremonies of their own country, though they had been honoured with the *jus civitatis*, or admitted free citizens of Rome *.

The place where the *curiæ* met was the Comitium, a part of the forum, as has been already mentioned †.

No set time was allotted for the holding of these or any of the other comitia, but only as business required.

The people being met together, and confirmed by the report of good omens from the augurs (which was necessary in all the assemblies) the rogatio, or business to be proposed to them, was publicly read. After this, (if none of the magistrates interposed) upon the order of him that presided in the comitia, the people divided into their proper *curias* and consulted of the matter; and then the *curias* being called out, as it happened by lot, gave their votes, man by man, in ancient times *vivâ voce*, and afterwards by tablets ‡; the most votes in every *curia* going for the voice of the whole *curia*, and the most *curiæ* for the general consent of the people §.

In the time of Cicero, the comitia *curiata* were so much out of fashion, that they were formed only by thirty lictors representing the thirty *curiæ*; whence in his second oration against Rullus, he calls them comitia *adumbrata*.

THE comitia *centuriata* were instituted by Servius Tullius; who obliging every one to give a true account of what he was worth, according to those accounts divided the people into six ranks or classes, which he subdivided into a hundred and ninety-three centuries. The first classis, containing the equites and richest citizens, consisted of ninety-eight centuries. The second, taking in

* Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Prov. l. 3. c. 1.

† See Part II. l. 1. c. 5.

‡ Tabellæ.

§ Rosin. l. 7. c. 7.

These regulations being made, the troops were no longer raised at so many men each

the tradesmen and mechanics, made up two and twenty centuries. The third, twenty. The fourth, twenty-two. The fifth, thirty. And the last, filled up with the poorer sort, but one century*.

And this, though it had the same name with the rest, yet was seldom regarded, or allowed any power in public matters. Hence it is a common thing with the Roman authors, when they speak of the classes, to reckon no more than five, the sixth not being worth their notice. This last classis was divided into two parts, or orders, the proletari, and the capite censi. The former, as their name implies, were designed purely to stock the commonwealth with men, since they could supply it with so little money. And the latter, who paid the lowest tax of all, were rather counted and marshalled by their heads, than their estates†.

Persons of the first rank, by reason of their pre-eminence, had the name of classici, whence came the phrase of *classici auctores*, for the most approved writers. All others, of what classis soever, were said to be *infra classem*‡.

The assembly of the people by centuries were held for the electing of consuls, censors, and prætors; as also for the judging of persons accused of what they called *crimen perduellionis*, or actions by which the party had shewed himself an enemy to the state; and for the confirmation of all such laws as were proposed by the chief magistrates, who had the privilege of calling these assemblies.

The place appointed for their meeting was the Campus Martius; because in the primitive times of the commonwealth, when they were under continual apprehensions of enemies, the people, to prevent any sudden assault, went armed, in martial order, to hold these assemblies; and were for that reason forbid by the laws to meet in the city, because an army was upon no account to be marshalled within the walls: yet in latter ages, it was thought sufficient to place a body of soldiers as a guard in the Ganiculum, where an imperial standard was erected, the taking down of which denoted the conclusion of the comitia.

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* See Dionys. l. 4. † A Gell. l. 7. c. 13. ‡ Ibid. l. 16. c. 10.

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tribe, nor were taxes levied at so much a head as formerly ; but every century furnished so

Though the time of holding these comitia for other matters was undetermined ; yet the magistrates, after the year of the city six hundred and one, when they began to enter on their place on the kalends of January, were constantly designed about the end of July, and the beginning of August.

All the time between their election and confirmation, they continued as private persons, that inquisition might be made into the election, and the other candidates might have time to enter objections, if they met with any suspicion of foul dealing. Yet at the election of the censors, this custom did not hold ; but as soon as they were pronounced elected, they were immediately invested with the honour*.

By the institution of these comitia, Servius Tullius secretly conveyed the whole power from the commons : for the centuries of the first and richest class being called out first, who were three more in number than all the rest put together, if they all agreed, as generally they did, the business was already decided, and the other classes were needless and insignificant. However the three last scarce ever came to vote†.

The commons, in the time of the free state, to rectify this disadvantage, obtained, that before they proceeded to voting any matter at these comitia, that century should give their suffrages first, upon whom it fell by lot, with the name of *centuria prærogativa* ; the rest being to follow according to the order of their classes. After the constitution of the five and thirty tribes, into which the classes and their centuries were divided, in the first place, the tribes cast lots, which should be the prerogative-tribe ; and then the centuries of the tribe, for the honour of being the prerogative-century. All the other tribes and centuries had the appellation of *jure vocatæ*, because they were called out according to their proper places.

The prerogative-century being chose by lot, the chief magistrate sitting in a ‡ tent in the middle of the Campus

* Liv. l. 40.

† Dionys. l. 4.

‡ Tabernaculum.

many men, and so much money; and the first and richest class, being more numerous

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Martius, ordered that century to come out and give their voices : upon which they presently separated from the rest of the multitude, and came into an inclosed apartment, which they termed *septa*, or *ovilia*, passing over the *pontes*, or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion ; on which account, *de ponte dejici* is to be denied the privilege of voting, and persons thus dealt with are called *deportani*.

At the hither end of the *pontes* stood the *diribitores* (a sort of under-officers, called so from dividing or marshalling the people) and delivered to every man, in the election of magistrates, as many * tables as there appeared candidates, one of whose names was written upon every tablet.

A fit number of great chests were set ready in the *septa*, and every body threw in which tablet he pleased.

By the chests were placed some of the public servants, who taking out the tablets of every century, for every tablet made a prick, or a point in another tablet, which they kept by them. Thus the business being decided by most points, gave occasion to the phrase of *omne tulit punctum*†, and the like.

The same method was observed in the judiciary processes at these comitia, and in the confirmation of laws ; except that in both these cases only two tablets were offered to every person, on one of which was written U. R. and on the other A. in capital letters ; the two first standing for *uti rogas*, or, Be it as you desire, relating to the magistrate who proposed the question ; and the last for *antiquo*, or, I forbid it.

It is remarkable, that though in the election of magistrates, and in the ratification of laws, the votes of that century, whose tablets were equally divided, signified nothing ; yet in trials of life and death, if the tablets *pro* and *con* were the same in number, the person was actually acquitted‡.

THE division of the people into tribes was an invention of Romulus, after he had admitted the Sabines into

* Tabellæ. † Hor. de Arte Poet. ‡ Dionys. l. 7.

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in centuries than all the rest together, furnished of consequence more men and more money

Rome ; and though he constituted at that time only three, yet as the state increased in power, and the city in number of inhabitants, they rose by degrees to five and thirty. For a long time after this institution, a tribe signified no more than such a space of ground with its inhabitants. But at last the matter was quite altered, and a tribe was no longer *pars urbis* but *civitatis* ; not a quarter of the city, but a company of citizens living where they pleased. This change was chiefly occasioned by the original difference between the tribes in point of honour. For Romulus, having committed all sordid and mechanic arts to the care of strangers, slaves, and libertines, and reserved the more honest labour of agriculture to the free-men and citizens, who by this active course of life might be prepared for martial service ; the *tribus rusticæ* were for this reason esteemed more honourable than the *urbanæ* : and now all persons being desirous of getting into the more creditable division, and there being several ways of accomplishing their wishes, as by adoption, by the power of the censors and the like ; that rustic tribe which had most worthy names in its roll had the preference to all others, though of the same general denomination. Hence all of the same great family, bringing themselves by degrees into the same tribe, gave the name of their family to the tribe they honoured ; whereas at first, the generality of the tribes did not borrow their names from persons but from places\*.

The first assembly of the tribes we meet with is about the year of Rome two hundred and sixty-three, convened by Sp. Sicinius, tribune of the commons, upon account of the trial of Coriolanus. Soon after the tribunes of the commons were ordered to be elected here : and at last all the inferior magistrates and the collegiate priests. The same *comitia* served for the enacting of laws relating to war and peace, and all others proposed by the tribunes and plebeian officers, though they had not properly the

\* See Mr. Walker of coins, p. 126.

for the public service than the whole Roman state besides. However, that ample amends might be made this class for the weight laid on it, Servius gave it in effect the whole authority in public affairs, by assembling the people in comitia by centuries, instead of comitia by curiæ. For the votes in the former being reckoned by centuries, and the rich class containing more centuries than all the other five, had consequently every thing at its disposal. The votes of this class were the first taken, so that if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree in opinion, or only ninety-seven of them, the affair was determined, because these made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries which composed the six classes. There was very rarely any occasion to go so low as the fourth

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D. Hal. p.  
224, 225.  
Livy, B. 1.  
c. 43.

name of *leges*, but *plebiscita*. They were generally convened by the tribunes of the commons; but the same privilege was allowed to all the chief magistrates.

They were confined to no place, and therefore sometimes we find them held in the Comitium, sometimes in the Campus Martius, and now and then in the Capitol.

The proceedings were in most respects answerable to those already described in the account of the other comitia, and therefore need not be insisted on; only we may farther observe of the comitia in general, that when any candidate was found to have most tablets for a magistracy, he was declared to be designed or elected by the president of the assembly: and this they termed *renunciari consul*, *prætor*, or the like: and that the last sort of the comitia only could be held without the consent and approbation of the senate, which was necessary to the convening of the other two\*. Kennet's Antiq. P. 2. B. 3. c. 16.

\* Dionys. l. 9.

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class for a majority of votes. After this time the assemblies of the *curiæ* were only held for the election of the *flamines*, and the chief *curio*; and for some other matters of no great moment.

D. Hal. p.  
226.  
Livy, c. 44.  
\* From  
*censeo*, to  
rate or va-  
lue.

Servius having established this distinction among the citizens according to the \* *census*, or valuation of their estates, commanded them to appear on a day appointed, under arms, and according to their classes and centuries, in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain field, lying without the city near the *Tiber*. It had been consecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. Here, by the king's order, was made a solemn lustration or expiatory sacrifice in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *lustrum*, à *luendo*, from paying, expiating, clearing, or perhaps from the goddess *Lua* (so named from the verb *luo*) to whom *Servius* is said to have built a temple. She was invoked in all expiations, and when people made up their accounts and paid their debts. Because of the continual change of men's estates, it was ordered, that the *census* should be renewed every five years, and it being usually closed by the *lustrum*, it was hence that this word came to signify that term of years. It is probable, that the first coined money ever known in *Rome* was struck at this time. The sacrifices of the *lustrum* might perhaps lead *Servius* to stamp the figures of the animals there slain on pieces of brass of a

certain weight. It is undoubted, that money was called pecunia, from the word *pecus*, i. e. cattle.

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V. THIS wise prince contrived also to augment the number of the citizens, by an expedient which none of his predecessors had ever thought of. Remembering his former servile condition, he commiserated the case of those whom an unsuccessful war had reduced to slavery, and who were often persons well born. He judged, that such of these unfortunate people, who by long and faithful services to their masters had deserved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy to be made citizens of Rome than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were usually admitted without distinction. He gave the freed-men their choice therefore, either to return to their own countries, or continue at Rome. Such as chose to continue there he divided into the four city tribes. They were still distinguished from the other plebeians, by their old name of *liberti*, or freed-men, but enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The senate at first took offence at this regard shewed to such mean people; upon which the king having assembled them, addressed himself to them in the following manner.


“ If nature has made any distinction between slaves and such as are born free, we ought indeed to observe the order she has established, and to divide those from the rest of mankind whom she has separated from

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them : but if the placing some in a state inferior to others, be owing to fortune only ; does it not become your wisdom to rectify the capricious determinations of a blind goddess ? Has this Fortune, who now inspires you with so much contempt for men taken in war, promised you that your happiness shall be perpetual ? Are you sure you and your children shall uninterruptedly enjoy this prosperity which renders you so haughty ? Brave and illustrious nations have been often known to experience the vicissitudes of the fortune of war. Such as have played the tyrant over those they had conquered, have been themselves reduced to undergo tyranny and oppression from them in their turn. How many instances of these unexpected revolutions have we in Greece, and the barbarous nations ? But to return to us Romans ; how inconsistent are our proceedings, when we refuse the rights of citizens to those men, to whom we grant liberty ? If your slaves were vicious, why did you set them free ? And if they were men of probity, why are they not to be incorporated in our tribes ? You have hitherto admitted to be citizens all such persons of the neighbouring nations as the love of your laws has drawn to your city. And have you enquired whether their birth was not blemished by the slavery of their fathers ? Why then are you influenced, to the disadvantage of your slaves, by such reflections as have no weight with you against fugitives who are utter strangers ? In short, if we must complete the peopling of Rome,

let us fill it with such as have for the most part breathed its air from their infancy, such as education has already made entirely Roman, and whose probity has shewn them worthy of recovering their liberty. The public interest invites you to this, and it is the private interest of every noble family, that it should be done. The more of your freed-men you see made citizens of Rome, the greater credit and influence will you have in our comitia. Gratitude will not suffer them to refuse you their suffrages; and your authority will increase in proportion to the number of your new clients." This discourse entirely appeased the senators, and they passed his institution into a law which subsisted ever after.

VI. WHEN Servius had thus established order among the people, and encouraged the slaves to virtue, he came at last, from a love of the public good, to reform the regal power. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both public and private. It is true, the senate and people decided in public affairs by their votes, but it was the king's business to draw up in form and report the matters that were to be laid before them: so that in reality the whole weight of the government lay upon the king: and he finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge them as he ought, transferred to other judges, chosen out of the senate, the care of hearing and deciding all private causes, excepting state crimes: but

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D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 228,  
229.

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D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 230.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 45.

he prescribed to these judges certain rules and laws by which they were to proceed.

All these regulations at home being finished, Servius Tullius then turned his thoughts abroad; and he laid a scheme for securing more effectually the friendship and fidelity of the Latines and Sabines, by such social ties as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the several cities of Latium and Sabinia to send their deputies to Rome. When they were come, he proposed to them to build a temple to Diana, at which the Latines and Sabines should meet every year, and join with the Romans, in offering sacrifices to the goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, at which all disputes, which had happened between the cities, should be amicably determined; that there proper measures should be taken to pursue their common interests; and lastly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. To this proposal the deputies readily consented, leaving to the king to choose a proper place where to erect the sanctuary. Servius chose the hill Aventinus; the temple was finished, and assemblies were annually held in it. The treaty of alliance with the Latines, the laws ordained to be observed in those assemblies, as likewise their decrees, were engraved on a pillar; which in Augustus's time were still to be seen in the temple of Diana.

VII. To complete his work of making the Roman people entirely free, this republican king is said to have come to a resolution in the latter part of his life, to abdicate the throne and reduce the government to a democracy. But whatever scheme he might have of this kind, it was frustrated by the ambition and violence of Tarquin, the elder of his sons-in-law, afterwards surnamed the Proud. Tarquin's wife endeavoured by all the ways of sweetness and insinuation, to moderate and soften the haughty fierceness of her husband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprises; while her younger sister, a very fury of a woman, was ever urging the quiet, the good-natured Aruns to the most villanous attempts, in order to reach the throne. She loudly lamented her fate in being tied to such an indolent and drowsy husband. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and Tarquin. At length she proposed to him nothing less than the murdering her father, sister, and husband, that they two might meet and ascend the throne together; and their conversation on this head ended in their anticipating the pleasures of an incestuous marriage. Shortly after they contrived the poisoning, he of his wife, she of her husband; and then impudently asked the king's and queen's consent to their marriage. Servius and Tarquinia, though they did not give it, were silent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of posterity. These criminal

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D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 243.  
Livy, c. 48.

D. Hal. p.  
232.

Livy, c. 46.

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D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 235.

p. 236, &  
seq.

nuptials were followed by intrigues against the king. The patricians, apprehensive of the king's designs in favour of the people, were many of them easily brought over to favour the pretensions of Tarquin; and, by the help of money, he gained also great numbers of the poorer citizens to his interest. Servius, being informed of what was doing, had frequent conferences in private with his son-in-law and daughter, to persuade them by reason to desist from such proceedings, and to wait for the kingdom, till his death: but Tarquin and Tullia loved violent measures, and to make a noise; they despised the counsels of the king, and resolved to lay their pretensions before the senate. So that the affair came to a formal process; and Servius was obliged to summon the senate to hear it. Tarquin reproached his father-in-law, that he had placed himself upon the throne, without suffering a previous interregnum; that he had bought the votes of the people, and had despised the suffrages of the senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the kingdom, and the injustice of Servius (who was only his tutor) in keeping possession of it, when he himself was of an age to govern. To this Servius answered, that he had not been intrusted with the regal authority under an obligation to preserve it for his pupils, but to secure their lives against the sons of Ancus; who, if there could be an hereditary right to the sceptre, had a much better one than the grandsons of the late king, who must himself have been an usurper. "Take

your choice," said he, "either to lay aside all hopes of reigning till after I am dead, or to submit from this instant to obey the murderers of your grandfather. But I am surprised, that there should be any among you, fathers, who would join with this man in endeavouring to dethrone me. What injustice have I done you? Is there any violence, any oppression, any one tyrannical act you can accuse me of? No. But perhaps I am too proud and arrogant. Which of your former kings ever shewed that moderation in the exercise of power which I have done? Have I not treated the citizens as a tender father his children? Have I not relinquished some part of the regal authority to you, and remitted all private causes to your cognizance and judgment? You have nothing to accuse me of but my kindness to the people. This is my only crime, and with regard to this I have often justified myself to you. But it is needless to mention these things at present. If this Tarquin seems to you better qualified to govern, I will not envy the state a better prince than I am. I received the kingdom from the people; to them I will restore it; and will endeavour to shew, when reduced to the condition of a private man, that as I knew how to govern, I know how to obey."

When Servius had thus spoken, he immediately dismissed the senate, and appointed an assembly of the people, which was proclaimed by heralds all over the city. The Roman forum was soon filled with auditors, and the king

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D. Hal. p.  
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harangued them in such a manner as gained all their affections. He began with an account of his exploits in war: he gave them the particulars of the battles he had fought, the victories he had won, and the triumphs he had obtained. And then passed on to the wholesome institutions of which he had been the author. The people repeated their applauses upon the mention of every action of Servius, and were a great while in suspense, not knowing to what this long preamble tended: till, after an exact numeration of all the benefits for which the public was indebted to his government, he fell at last upon Tarquin. "A new competitor for the throne offers himself to you, and comes to dispute with me the remains of a reign which I have dedicated to the happiness of the public. He pretends that his dying grandfather bequeathed the kingdom to him, and that you had no right to dispose of the property of another. Can you hear this without indignation? Will you suffer your rights to be called in question? As for me, if the hardships of a tyrannical administration have made you weary of me, or if the virtues of Tarquin have made him more worthy to reign, I consent that you resume the sceptre which I received from you: but I do not think myself at liberty to resign it into any hands but yours; and to you therefore I restore it." As he ended these words, he would have immediately left the tribunal, but the people stopped him; they all cried out to him not to yield the throne to another. And amidst their

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confused noises, these words were likewise heard, "Let Tarquin perish, let him die, let us kill him!" This language terrified the proud prince, and he retired to his house in great haste: whilst the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people.

VIII. AND now Tarquin finding the ill success of violent measures, acted a new part. By caresses and submissions he entirely regained the king's favour, and lulled him into an agreeable security. Tranquillity seemed for some time to be re-established in the royal family; but it was not long before the cruel Tullia put an end to it. To reflect that Tanaquil, a foreigner, had made two kings of Rome successively, and that she herself, a king's daughter, was not able to make one, were such afflicting thoughts as would allow her no repose. She fancied her husband grown stupid and insensible, she upbraided him with cowardice, and incited him to act every crime which could serve ambition. "I thought to have found in thee a man of spirit, a true Tarquin, one who had rather have than hope for a kingdom. If thou art the man whom I thought I married, I must call thee king as well as husband. Rouse thyself. Thou hast no need like thy grandfather to come from Corinth or Tarquinii to seek a kingdom. Thy household gods, the gods of thy country, the royal palace, the regal throne in that palace, the name of Tarquin, create and call thee king. But if thou art unmoved by all this, why dost thou deceive the expectations of

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 47.

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the people? Why dost thou suffer them to regard thee as a man of a princely soul? Go, coward, get thee hence to Tarquinius or Corinth; thou hast more in thee of thy brother, than of thy grandfather."

Tarquin, incited by these reproaches of his wife, renewed his intrigues among the senators. He went from house to house to beg votes, and made his own house a rendezvous of pleasure for the young patricians. Having formed his party, he chose the time of harvest (when most of the principal citizens were in the country) to put in practice a stratagem which surprised the people by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution. Clothed in royal robes, preceded by some of his domestics bearing fasces, and followed by a great number of his party, who had swords under their robes; he crossed the Roman forum, and came to the gate of the temple where the senators were wont to assemble. From thence he sent expresses to them all, commanding them, in king Tarquin's name, to repair immediately thither. He then advanced with a grave pace, and seated himself on the royal throne. Those of the senators who were of his faction he found already in their places, having given them private notice to be there early; and he now exhorted them resolutely to pursue the intention of their meeting. In the mean time, the rest of the senators made all the haste they could to the place to which they were summoned. The greater part of them thought Servius dead, since Tarquin assumed the title and the functions of king; and no one durst

D. Hal. p.
241.

keep away from the assembly, for fear his absence, in the beginning of a reign, should be made a crime. When the senators were got together, Tarquin repeated the invectives they had so often heard him utter against his father-in-law: "That being a slave and the son of a slave, he had, after the cruel murder of Tarquin the late king, possessed himself of the kingdom, not by the free voices of the people, or the approbation of the senate; but by the mere artifice of a woman. That thus born, and thus created king, he had ever been a favourer of mean wretches like himself, and, out of hatred to the patricians, for their noble birth, had stript them of their estates to give them to the vilest of the people; that the burdens which were before common to all he had heaped on the nobles alone; and had instituted the census for no other reason, but that the fortunes of the rich might be more visible to the eye of envy, and that he might have them ready to bestow on beggars whenever he pleased."

Year of
R O M E.

Servius
Tullius
Sixth King.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 47.

While he was yet speaking, Servius Tullius appeared. He had been informed of the part his son-in-law was acting in the senate, and immediately hasted thither with but few attendants, and with more boldness than discretion. As soon as he beheld Tarquin on the throne, he cried out at a distance, and with a loud voice, "What is it, thou most flagitious of men, that has made thee thus audacious to convene the senate, and take possession of my throne, while I am alive?"—

c. 48.

Year of
R O M E.

Servius
Tullius
Sixth King.

“ It is thy impudence, Servius,” replied Tarquin, “ it is thy iniquity. I fill the place of my grandfather, which thy vileness was not ashamed to usurp. Is a king’s grandson or his slave the more worthy to inherit his kingdom? A slave that has been too long suffered licentiously to insult his masters?” These words threw the old king into a transport of passion, which made him rashly give way to the motions of his courage, without considering his strength. He drew near the throne to pull Tarquin down from it. This raised a great shout in the assembly, and the people crowded into the temple; but nobody ventured to part the two rivals. Tarquin, who was now under a necessity of coming to extremities, being more strong and vigorous, seized the old man by the waist, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the steps into the forum. The king, grievously hurt and covered with blood, raised himself up with some difficulty, but all his friends had deserted him; only two or three of the people, touched with compassion, lent him their arms to lead him to his palace. As they were slowly trailing him along, the cruel Tullia appeared in the forum. She had come hastily in her chariot, upon the report she had heard of what passed in the senate. She found her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and being transported with joy, was the first who saluted him king; and her example was immediately followed by the senators of Tarquin’s party. She then took her

husband aside, and suggested to him the thought of not leaving his work imperfect ; upon which he instantly dispatched some of his domestics, to overtake the old king, and deprive him of his small remains of life.

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CCXIX.

Servius
Tullius
Sixth King.

Tullia having heard the orders given for the parricide, mounted her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her house was through a narrow street called Vicus Cyprius⁶, or the good street. Extended across it lay the king's body, which was still panting. The charioteer perceived it, and being struck with horror, checked his horses and made a stop. "Why don't you go on?" cried Tullia to him. "What is it that stops you?" The charioteer turned about to her, "Alas!" said he, "it is the body of the king your father." At these words Tullia catching up a stool which was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, "Go on, villain," she cried, "are you afraid of driving over a dead corpse?" The charioteer obeyed ; and the blood of the father is said to have dyed the chariot-wheels, and even the clothes of the inhuman daughter. And from hence the street was called ever after Vicus Sceleratus, the wicked street.

D. Hal. p.
242.

Such was the deplorable end of Servius, a prince of so excellent a conduct, says Livy, that even a good successor, a reasonable king, would have found it difficult to emulate him. He subdued all the enemies of Rome, and

B. 1. c. 48.

⁶The word cyprius, according to Varro, signified in the old language of the Sabines, who had inhabited this quarter, good or happy.

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CCXIX.

~~~~~  
Servius  
Tullius  
Sixth King.

D. Hal. p.  
243.

never made it his business to create her new ones. He did not conquer merely for the sake of glory ; he rated the value of his conquests only by their tendency to the public good. One triumph did not beget the ambition of obtaining another. He made Rome more formidable, by twenty years of peace, than his predecessors had done by many victories, and the sacking of a hundred cities. He introduced order in the militia and public revenues ; he rectified the confusion of the assemblies of the people ; he extended the jurisdiction of the senate, and yet kept its authority within due bounds. He distinguished the rich, only to make them bear the heaviest burdens ; and he eased the poor, that he might keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their inferiority. In a word, he was beloved by the people, esteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies if he could have preserved the affections of his own family. He died at seventy-four years of age, after he had reigned forty-four. Tarquin refusing to suffer the usual obsequies to be performed for him, lest it might occasion a dangerous commotion among the people, Tarquinia conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb ; and the night following she died herself ; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of Tullia, is uncertain. The veneration the people had for the memory of Servius seems to have placed him among the gods. The slaves annually celebrated his

festival in the temple of Diana Aventina, on the day he lost his life.

## CHAP. VIII.

## TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

- I. The tyranny of Tarquin, who gets the surname of the Proud. His haughty treatment of the Latine deputies, and treacherous contrivance to destroy Turnus Herdonius. II. The Latine association, and the institution of the Ferie Latinæ. Tarquin, assisted by the Latines, defeats the Volsci and subdues the Sabines. He finishes the common sewers and circus maximus at Rome. III. His war with the people of Gabii, and the cruel stratagem whereby he becomes master of that city. IV. The adventure of the woman with the Sybil's books. The rise of the written civil law. Tarquin builds the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. V. He sends two of his sons with Brutus to consult the oracle at Delphos. VI. The rape of Lucretia. The Tarquins are banished, and a commonwealth established at Rome.*

OF the seven kings, who successively governed Rome, only the four first seem to have ascended the throne by the people's free choice, according to the original constitution of the state. The elder Tarquin (distinguished after this time by the surname of Priscus) had indeed the voices both of the curiæ and of the senate for his elevation; but, as he bought these voices, he in reality bought the kingdom: his successor Servius Tullius (though his merit entitled him to it) may be said to have artfully stole it: and as for the present Tarquin, the last of the Roman kings, he seized upon it as his property, his un-

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 244.  
& seq.  
Livy, B. 1.  
c. 49.

doubted right by inheritance. He who had so often reproached his predecessor with usurpation, for his want of legal election to the government, disdained any other title to it himself, but that of hereditary right, or possession acquired by regicide.

The whole series of this prince's reign was suitable to the manner of his accession to the throne. Scarce had he seated himself there, when, for his capricious humour and arrogant behaviour, he got the surname of the Proud. He communicated no affairs of state either to senate or people. Having made sure of a sufficient number of soldiers, partly strangers, to guard his person and to execute his pleasure, all his proceedings were by acts of power ; and how grievous soever was the oppression, the oppressed were denied the privilege of complaining. Informers were dispersed throughout the city ; the king was the sole judge of the accused ; wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Of this latter the tyrant gave a remarkable proof in the murder of M. Junius, a venerable old man, the father of the famous L. Junius Brutus, who afterwards destroyed the regal power. This M. Junius was descended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, upon which considerations the first Tarquin had given him his youngest daughter in marriage. The new king, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, and Brutus escaped only by counterfeiting stupidity. In short, Tarquin car-

D. Hal. p.  
264.

ried his tyranny to such excess, that the flower of the senate went into a voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of his cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were now in their turn as ill-treated as the patricians, and all the laws made in their favour were annulled. The poor were constrained to pay the same taxes as the rich. No census, no lustrum, no division of the citizens into classes and centuries. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited, both in town and country.

But now Tarquin, being sensible that all the orders of men in a state could not be long under oppression, without uniting against the oppressor, turned his thoughts to gain foreigners to his interest. And to this end he married his daughter to Octavius Mamilius, a man of bravery and experience in war, and of the most considerable interest of any among the Latines. Mamilius procured his father-in-law many friends of the chief persons of Latium; but Tarquin had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour. He had desired the Latines to convene a national council at Ferentinum, where he would meet them on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and took their places in the sacred grove of the temple of Flora. There they waited many hours, but Tarquin did not appear. The assembly grew impatient, and Turnus Herdonius, an enterprising eloquent man, who hated Tarquin, and was jealous of

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CCXX.

Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
245, 246.

p. 274.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 50.


Mamilius, laid hold of this occasion to inveigh against the king. "I am not at all surprised," said he, "that Rome has given Tarquin the surname of the Proud. What can be a greater instance of pride than thus to trifle with the whole Latine nation; to summon hither the Latine chiefs to meet him, and not to appear himself? Doubtless he means to put our patience to the test, and to judge by our manner of bearing his insults, how far he may oppress us when he has brought us under his yoke. If my advice may have any weight with you, let us return home, and take no more notice of the assembly-day than he who appointed it." But Mamilius rose up and excused his father-in-law, by imputing his absence to some unforeseen and urgent affairs which hindered his coming, and he prevailed to have the council adjourned to the next day<sup>7</sup>. Then Tarquin appeared, and being put in mind by those who were near him to make some excuse to the Latines for having disappointed them the day before, "I was engaged," said he very coldly, "in making up a difference between a father and his son."—"Of all differences," briskly answered Herdonius, "there is none requires so little time and so few words to compose it. There needs only to tell the son, that if he do not obey his father some dreadful mischief will befall him."

c. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Livy says, B. 1. c. 50. that the assembly was formed early in the morning, and that Tarquin arrived the evening of the same day.

This beginning did not please Tarquin, but he concealed his resentment for the present, and proceeded to tell the assembly, that his design in calling them together was to claim his right of commanding the Latine armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather; but which he desired might be confirmed to him by them. These words were scarce ended, when Herdonius stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, with great warmth renewed his invectives against the king, and opposed his demand. "What!" said he, "does Tarquin the Proud pretend to an hereditary right to govern us? Needs there any stronger proof, than such a claim, of the injustice and wickedness of him who makes it? Was it then a condition in the treaties we made with his grandfather, that we should be subject to his posterity? Was this the meaning of the voluntary and temporary concession we made to him? Tarquin employs the same pretence of hereditary right against us, which he has improved to the ruin of Rome. Latines! if you hearken to him, your slavery is as certain as that of the Romans. And will it be less severe? His own subjects have been some of them murdered by him, others banished their country, others stript of their estates; the very best among the Romans have been thus treated, and all in general are deprived of liberty. Will strangers find Tarquin a less cruel and less covetous master? Judge of the fate you are to expect by that of Rome."

Tarquin was disconcerted by the boldness

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
248.

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R O M E.  
Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
249.

Livy, c. 51.

of this orator, and desired that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to give an answer to the invectives of Herdonius. In the mean time, he corrupted some of Herdonius's domestics, and engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. The next morning, entering the assembly with an air of confidence, he told them that one word was sufficient to destroy all the calumnies of Herdonius. "In reality," he added, "my accuser has himself acquitted me. Were I such a person as he represents me, would he have sought an alliance with me? He earnestly solicited me to give him my daughter in marriage; but for good reasons I refused to accept him for a son-in-law; and here is the source of his malice. But this is no time to enter further into my justification. Your own interests, your own safety, your liberties and lives demand at present all your attention." He then accused his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the Latine cities; and, as a proof of this, he informed them of the arms in Herdonius's baggage. An accusation of such importance threw all the assembly into a fright, except the accused, who knowing nothing of those arms, and believing that his innocence would quickly appear, desired his baggage might be searched; declaring, at the same time, his consent to be judged guilty, if the fact, alleged in evidence of the crime, proved true: accordingly an examina-

tion was made; and the arms being found and brought into the assembly, it put the deputies into such a rage, that, without suffering Herdonius to make his defence, they immediately sentenced him to be thrown into a basin at the head of the spring of Ferentinum; where a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon the hurdle, he was pressed down into the water and drowned.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

II. BUT the death of an enemy was not the only advantage Tarquin drew from this monstrous treachery: the Latines looked upon him as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared the king of Rome general of the Latine armies. And, soon after this, the Hernici, and two cantons of the Volsci, entered into a league with him upon the same terms. In order to keep these confederates firm to their engagements, Tarquin, with their approbation, erected a new temple in the midst of them to Jupiter Latialis. It stood on a hill near the ruins of Alba. There the diets of the united cantons were annually to assemble; and it was agreed that these several nations in league should upon no pretence do any act of hostility against each other during that time: but should there jointly offer sacrifices to Jupiter, and feast together in token of union. These assemblies were called Latia; and the day appointed for their annual meeting, which was the 27th of April, was called *Feriæ Latinæ*. The Romans, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 250.

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CCXXIV.

Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

deliberations. The diet consisted of forty-seven deputies, from so many cities, forming that Latine association, which in aftertimes was the best part of the Roman strength, and contributed more than all the rest of Italy to the conquest of the world.

Tarquin, thus strengthened and supported, resolved to make war upon those of the Volsci who had refused to enter into alliance with him. But he did not raise his army upon the foot of Servius's division of the Roman soldiery by centuries, nor were the allies any longer a separate corps. Not having sufficient confidence in the fidelity of his Romans, he chose only a small number of them, such as he could most depend on, and blended them with the Latines in the same legions. The inhabitants of Suessa Pometia, one of the most flourishing cities of the Volsci, having committed some depredations on the Latines, Tarquin laid hold of this pretence to begin the war. He defeated their army, took their city by storm, and gave the plunder of it as free booty to the soldiers, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expense of finishing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

D. Hal. B. 4.  
p. 251, 252.

He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had divided all their forces into two bodies, and posted them, one near Eretum, the other near Fidenæ. By his masterly conduct, he entirely defeated both armies, and made the whole Sabine nation tributary. And it is probable, that the king at this time decreed himself two triumphs, one

Fast. Cap.

for his victory over the Volsci, the other for having subdued the Sabines.

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CCXXX.

Upon his return to Rome, he set the people at work to finish the common-sewers, and the great circus. He thought an idle populace, who did not love their prince, dangerous. The artificers were likewise taken out of their shops, and obliged to painful drudgeries, with short allowance: but by these vexatious methods he brought to perfection those two structures which his grandfather had begun.

Tarquin II.  
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King.

III. IN the mean while, a great number of discontented patricians, who fled from their own city, took refuge at Gabii, a city of Latium, about a hundred furlongs from Rome in the way to Præneste; and the inhabitants being touched with compassion to see so many considerable persons under persecution, resolved to make themselves parties in the quarrel, and begin a war with the king of Rome. Tarquin was informed of their preparations to take the field, and, suspecting against whom they were designed, raised a prodigious bulwark (much boasted of in after-ages) to cover the city on the side of Gabii. This war between the Romans and the Gabini lasted seven years, with various success; and the inroads and devastations made on both sides, being a hindrance to all sowing and reaping, produced at length a scarcity of corn. It was chiefly felt at Rome, where complaints were made by the people, that they suffered, not by any hatred of their neighbours to them, but to the king; and they

CCXXXV  
to  
CCXLI.

D. Hal. p.  
253.

p. 254.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 53.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

demanding either a peace or provisions; and these discontents were fomented by emissaries from the exiles at Gabii. Tarquin being much perplexed by the people's clamours, which tended to a general sedition, his son Sextus Tarquinius proposed, and, in concert with him, put in practice an expedient equally artful and dishonourable for reducing Gabii. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed against him as a tyrant, who had no compassion even for his own children; upon which the king caused him to be beaten publicly in the forum as a rebel. This discontent of the son, and barbarity of the father, were reported at Gabii by trusty persons sent thither on purpose, who by artful management made the Gabini very desirous to have Sextus among them. Accordingly a secret negotiation was set on foot for that end, and Sextus was at length prevailed with to accept the invitation of the Gabini, they giving him their solemn promise never to deliver him up to his father, on any pretence whatsoever.

When he was come to Gabii, his whole talk, both in public and private, turned upon the tyranny of the king of Rome; and he suited his actions to his discourse. No enemy of Rome was more active and enterprising. He frequently made inroads on the Roman lands, and came back loaded with spoil; his father contriving to gain him honour, by always sending against him weak parties which must infallibly be worsted. By this means, Sextus

came at length to such a high degree of credit among the Gabini, that he was chosen general of their army, and was as much master in Gabii, as Tarquin was in Rome. And now finding his authority sufficiently established, he dispatched a slave to his father, to enquire what he should do. The king, unwilling to send an answer, either in writing, or by word of mouth, took the slave into a garden, and there (in imitation of Thrasybulus the Milesian) struck off the heads of all the tallest poppies. This done, he sent back the messenger. Sextus understood the hint, assembled the Gabini, and pretended to have discovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people in a rage pressed him to declare the conspirators, and with much difficulty he suffered them, as it were, to extort from him the name of Antistius Petro, a man whose merit had made him the most considerable person in his country. Antistius despised the accusation; but Sextus had bribed his servants (in the same manner as Tarquin had formerly done those of Herdonius) to convey among his papers some letters from the king of Rome; which being produced and read, the populace, without further examination, immediately stoned him; and to Sextus was committed the care of discovering his accomplices, and appointing their punishment. Upon this he ordered the city gates to be shut, and sent officers into every quarter of it, to cut off the heads of all the eminent men, and flower of the nobility, without mercy. And

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

D. Hal. p.  
255.

D. Hal. p.  
256.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

in the midst of the desolation and confusion, caused by this dreadful massacre, he opened the gates to his father, to whom he had given timely notice of his design; and Tarquin entered the city with all the pride of a conqueror.

D. Hal. p.  
257.

The Gabini no sooner saw themselves thus totally at the mercy of the tyrant, but they fell into the lowest depths of despair, and there was no evil which they did not expect to suffer. However, their misfortunes were not so great as their fears. Tarquin upon this occasion consulted good policy more than his revenge. Not one of the citizens was put to death by his orders. He granted them life, liberty, and estates, and even entered into a treaty with the city; the articles of which, when it was ratified, were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was yet to be seen at Rome in Augustus's time, in the temple of Jupiter Fidius.

p. 260.

It was one part of Tarquin's refined politics to keep his sons at a distance from him. He left Sextus therefore in Gabii, and made him king of the place. His two other sons, Titus and Aruns, he sent away under pretence of making them the founders of two colonies<sup>8</sup>:

<sup>8</sup> It is proper to declare, in the beginning of this history, on what occasions the Romans sent out colonies, and what privileges those colonies enjoyed. The Romans never sent out their citizens to found colonies, but either to enlarge their limits, or to curb some nations who were yet unsubdued, or to ease their city of too great a number of inhabitants, or to get rid of a multitude who were inclined

The first was to build a city at Signia, and the other at Circaëum, a promontory on the shore of the Tyrrhene sea, and both these to keep the Volsci in awe.

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Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

IV. TARQUIN now enjoyed a profound peace at Rome; the Romans were become accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master; and the weight of oppression made them silent. It was at this time that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, but at a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to give it, she withdrew and burnt three of the nine. Some time after she returned to court, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. This made her looked upon as a mad woman, and she was driven away with scorn. Nevertheless having burnt the half of what were left, she came a third time, and demanded, for the remaining three, the same

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 259.

to sedition, or to reward the old soldiers of the Roman legions. Before these colonies set out from Rome, a certain quantity of land was assigned them, in the place where they were to settle, which was to be their own property. And the number of families sent from Rome was proportioned to the quantity of ground which was to be given them. The persons so transplanted were generally such as had neither land nor houses, either in city or country. They marched to the place of their new habitation in order of battle. There they either built them a city themselves, or took possession of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the Roman laws, but immediately lost the right of suffrage they had had in the comitia, nor could they stand for any office in the commonwealth, unless they were again made citizens of Rome. C. & R.

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R O M E.

Tarquin II.  
Seventh  
King.

price which she had asked for the whole nine. The novelty of such a proceeding made Tarquin curious to have the books examined. They were put therefore into the hands of the augurs, who finding them to be the oracles of the sybil of Cumæ, declared them to be an invaluable treasure. Upon this the woman was paid the sum she demanded, and she soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the Romans to preserve her books with care. They soon began to be religiously respected at Rome. Tarquin appointed two persons of distinction<sup>9</sup>, to be guardians of them. These were styled duumviri. When the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built, the books were locked up there in a vault, and were afterwards burnt with the temple itself.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 260.

<sup>9</sup>These officers were afterwards increased to ten (decemviri), and then to fifteen (quindecimviri). It was their business to consult the sybilline books, whenever the senate thought it proper: but recourse was had to them, in times only of public distress; as when a dangerous sedition threatened the state, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to Rome; as for instance, an eruption of the fire of Vesuvius or Ætna, or some monstrous birth of man or beast. Then the duumviri had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the sybils. They presided over the sacrifices and public sports, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the ludi seculares. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, as well as from civil and military employments. This sort of magistracy continued at Rome till the time of Theodosius, when it was abolished with the rest of the Roman superstitions. C. & R.

It was also in this Tarquin's time, that the written civil law had its rise among the Romans. One Papirius, a senator, collected all the laws made by the kings into one 'body, which was called the Papirian law.

Rome continuing in peace, Tarquin laid hold of the opportunity to carry on the magnificent work his grandfather had begun, the temple of the <sup>2</sup>capitol. The money necessary

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4. p. 257.  
& seq.

<sup>1</sup> Some pretend, that Papirius's work did not continue long in use, since the laws of the kings did not survive Tarquin the Proud, but were abolished with the regal power. But this opinion ought to be confined within just bounds. It is true, the laws that favoured the monarchic state were abolished after the revolution, which changed the government of Rome into a republic. But the laws which related to good polity in general, such as those of Servius Tullius concerning commerce, contracts, the census, and the lustra, always continued in force. It may likewise be affirmed, that the laws of Romulus, Numa, and other kings, were still respected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the ground-work of the Roman law. C. & R.

<sup>2</sup> The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was situated on the top of the hill Tarpeius which had been long since made a part of Rome. The original of the new name of capitol, given to this hill, is by historians said to be this. As the workmen were digging the foundations, or levelling the area of the temple of Jupiter, they are said to have found, very deep in the earth, the head of a man, whose features were preserved entire, and the blood of it was red as if but newly shed. This the Romans looked on as a prodigy, and the Hetrurian diviners being consulted upon it, declared it to presage, that Rome would some time or other become the mistress and head of Italy. The prodigy and the answer of the augurs therefore encouraged Tarquin to spare neither pains nor cost, in the raising a structure to the honour of those gods, who were the authors of so glorious a destiny. Accordingly, the foundations of it were marked out, and the temple was built of almost a square form ; for

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for it had been laid by ever since the taking of Suessa Pometia. He hired architects and skilful workmen from Hetruria; and as to the laborious part, he made his subjects the drudges, as he had often done before; but as this was a religious undertaking, they assisted in carrying it on with more cheerfulness than usual.

D. Hal. B.  
4, p. 264.  
& seq.

Livy, B. 1.  
c. 56.

V. WHILE Tarquin and the Romans were thus employed, a dreadful plague raged in Rome; and this, with some other extraordinary events, made such an impression upon his mind, that he resolved to send his sons Titus and Aruns to consult the oracle of Delphi upon the cause and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent presents for Apollo; and Junius Brutus (the counterfeit

it was but fifteen feet longer than it was broad. It is reckoned to have been two hundred feet broad, and about two hundred and fifteen feet long. The front of this great building was to the south, that is, it faced the hill Palatinus and the Forum Romanum. A hundred steps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain distances, by large half-paces, or landing-places, to give those who went up time to breathe, before they came to the top of the hill, and the foot of the portico. This front consisted of three rows of pillars: and the two sides of the temple were adorned with a peristyle, consisting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once; and the Romans always rebuilt it, still preserving the same proportions: till at last, the embellishments that were added to it made it one of the richest sanctuaries in the world. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to Jupiter, another to Juno, and the third to Minerva, or was rather three temples under the same roof. D. H. B. 4. p. 258, 259. C. & R.

idiot) being to attend them for their amusement in the journey, resolved to carry his offering too. The present he chose for the god was an elder-stick, and this was matter of diversion to the whole court. However, as he knew that the gods of those times, or their ministers, were much affected with valuable offerings, he had the precaution to inclose a rod of gold in his stick, without any body's knowledge. And thus it was a true emblem of his own mind and conduct, who under a contemptible outside concealed the richest gifts of nature. It is probable that the oracle told them, among other things, that there would quickly be a new reign at Rome; because it is said, that when they had performed their father's commission they enquired, which of them should succeed Tarquin; and that the god declared, that the government of Rome was destined to him who should first give a kiss to his mother. Upon this, we are told, that the two brothers either drew lots, which of them at their return to Rome should first kiss his mother Tullia, or agreed to do it both together, that they might reign jointly; but that Brutus, imagining the oracle had another meaning, pretended to fall down by chance and kissed the earth, the common mother of all living. Whether these things be entirely fabulous or not, the revolution, which abolished the regal power, happened soon after their return to Rome. They found the city in a commotion, on account of the war in which the

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Livy, *ibid.*

D. Hal. p.  
265.  
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king was engaged with the Rutuli. In hopes of recruiting his exhausted treasury, he had marched his army to Ardea, their capital, about twenty miles from Rome, thinking to take it without opposition: but he found himself obliged to besiege it in form. This put him under a necessity of laying a heavy tax upon the people; and this tax greatly increased the number of the malcontents, and disposed them to a revolt.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 57.

VI. THE siege being carried on very slowly, the general officers had a good deal of leisure for diversions, and they mutually made entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when Sextus Tarquinius was entertaining his brothers, their kinsman Collatinus being of the company, the conversation happened to turn upon the merit of wives. Every one extolled the good qualities of his own; but Collatinus affirmed, that his Lucretia excelled all others. It was a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they took the method which mirth and wine inspired; which was to mount their horses, go and surprise their wives: and it was agreed, that she whom they found employed in the manner most becoming her sex, should have the preference. Away therefore they galloped first to Rome, where they surprised the king's daughters-in-law all together in the midst of feasting and diversions; and the ladies seemed much disconcerted by the unexpected return of their husbands. From Rome they hasted away to Col-

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latia, the place where Collatinus resided in time of peace. (He was the grandson of Ege-rius, that nephew³ of Tarquinius Priscus be-fore-mentioned, to whom that king gave the city and territory of Collatia, in property.) Though the night was far advanced when the princes arrived there, they found Lucretia up, with her maids about her, spinning and work-ing in wool. The company her husband brought her of a sudden did not discompose her; and they were all pleased with the re-ception she gave them. Sextus was so cap-tivated with her beauty, and so inflamed with passion, which her insuperable modesty made the more violent, that he became exceedingly unwilling to leave the place; but there was an absolute necessity for his appearing at the camp before Ardea. However he found a pretence to return very soon to Collatia; and went to lodge at his kinsman's house. Lu-cretia, in her husband's absence, entertained him with great civility and respect, and after supper he was conducted to his apartment. When all were asleep he stole into Lucretia's chamber, and coming with his drawn sword to her bed-side, laid his left hand upon her breast and awakened her: "Lucretia," said he, "I am Sextus Tarquinius, if you speak a word you die." Then he declared his pas-sion, and by intreaties, mixed with menaces, endeavoured to make her yield to his desires. And when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail

Livy, B. 1.
c. 58.

³ See page 164.

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upon her to consent, he threatened her also with infamy. He told her that he would kill one of her slaves, lay him naked by her when she was dead, and then declare to all the world that he had only revenged the injured honour of Collatinus. The dread of ignominy was too powerful for Lucretia's constancy; Sextus obtained his wishes, and early the next morning appeared again in the camp. Lucretia, though she had escaped what she dreaded as the greatest of evils, yet could not endure the thoughts of life after the violence she had suffered. She dressed herself in mourning, took a poniard under her robe, wrote to her husband at the camp to meet her at her father Lucretius's house, and then mounting her chariot came to Rome⁴. People were surprised to see her wearing all the marks of the deepest sorrow, and often asked her as she passed along what was the cause of her grief. She answered them only by weeping; and, when the same question was put to her at her father's house, she still refused to discover the matter, till there should be a full assembly of her friends and relations, whom she desired might be called together. Upon the first summons great numbers of the nobility crowded to the house, and among the rest P. Valerius (afterwards Poplicola) and Lucius Junius, who seems to have waited for this moment to throw off that mask of stupidity, which had got him

D. Hal. B.
4. p. 262,
263.

⁴ According to Livy, she sent to desire her father and husband to come to her at her own house, and it was at Collatia that she killed herself.

the surname of Brutus. When the assembly was pretty numerous, she addressed herself to her husband Collatinus, disclosed in few words the whole secret, her own shame and his dishonour, and the treacherous author of both: she protested the unspotted innocence of her heart, but at the same time declared her firm resolution not to live, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished: all who were present gave her, one by one, their solemn promise to revenge the insult she had suffered; they also endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her, that the body could not sin, and that there could be no guilt, where the mind was unconsenting; but nothing could divert her from the desperate resolution she had taken: "No," said she, "no woman shall hereafter survive her honour, and say, Lucretia was her example;" and then, having embraced her father and her husband as one that bids a last farewell, she immediately plunged the concealed dagger into her breast. Her father and husband, starting, cried out as she fell at their feet; a mixture of compassion and fury seized the whole assembly; and the blood, which Lucretia shed to attest her innocence, or repair her glory, served likewise to cement the union of those illustrious patriots who gave liberty to Rome. For Brutus going near to the dying lady, drew the poniard out of her bosom, and shewing it all bloody to the assembly, "Yes," said he, "I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but royal villany

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Livy, *ibid.*

D. Hal. p.
263.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 59.

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could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword, nor will ever suffer any of that family, or of any other whatsoever, to be king in Rome; ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath!"—This said, he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble Romans, struck with amazement at the prodigious appearance of wisdom in an idiot, looked on him as inspired, and submitted entirely to his conduct. He then let them know, that his folly had been only feigned, he exhorted them to defer lamenting the death of Lucretia to another time, to behave themselves now like men and Romans, and think only of revenging it; and he advised them to begin by shutting the gates of Rome, and placing a trusty guard to secure them, that nobody might go out of the city to give notice at the camp of what was doing. This counsel was approved, and, as Lucretius had been left governor of the city by Tarquin, was put in execution without difficulty.

Then Brutus, causing the yet bleeding Lucretia to be carried to the place where the comitia were usually held, and placing the corpse where it might be seen by every body, ordered the people to be called together. By a surprising instance of good-fortune, he happened to be legally invested with the power of assembling the comitia; this right was annexed to the office of tribune, or chief

commander of the king's horse-guards, which Tarquin had given him, because he thought him incapable of using it to his disadvantage. When the multitude were assembled, the imagined idiot, to their great surprise, addressing himself to them, began with an apology for his presuming to speak in public on so important an occasion; he in few words explained to them all the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means to preserve his life after the murder of his father and elder brother. He then proceeded to tell them the resolution the patricians were come to of deposing the tyrant, and pressed them in the strongest terms to concur in that design. He enumerated the crimes by which Tarquin, in concert with the wicked Tullia, had made his way to the throne. He put them in mind of Aruns Tarquinius (the tyrant's brother) and the elder Tullia, both persons of amiable dispositions, and both treacherously poisoned, he by his wife the present queen, she by her husband the present king; the criminal nuptials that followed these secret murders, and the horrid tragedy that followed those nuptials; Servius Tullius, the justest, the mildest, the most beneficent of kings, openly assassinated, and the cruel Tullia riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father: "O execrable fact! ye gods, the avengers of injured parents, ye beheld it. But why should I dwell on these crimes committed by the tyrant against his

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Livy, B. 1.
c. 59.

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Livy, B. I.
c. 59.
D. Hal. B.
4. p. 270.
& seq.

own family and blood? The wrongs he has done his country, his cruelties to every one of you in particular are insufferable and without end. With what an utter contempt of all our laws did he usurp an elective kingdom? And how has he maintained himself in his illegal power? By murders, by banishments, by the oppression of all his subjects. As for the patricians—you see the condition to which we are reduced;—I shall say nothing of it—our greatest enemies could not behold it without compassion. And as for you plebeians, what is become of your rights and privileges? Are you ever called together to assist at the sacrifices? to elect your magistrates? or to give your suffrages in public affairs? Have you not been treated as the vilest of slaves? The victorious Romans, victorious over all the nations around them, are condemned at home to undergo the most painful drudgeries, to be hewers of stone, to sweat under heavy burthens, to work in mines, and breathe the unwholesome air of sinks and common sewers. And are these miseries, these indignities, never to have an end? Or, if you ever propose to assert your freedom, how long will you delay it? You wait, perhaps, for Tarquin's death. But what benefit would accrue to you from that? He has three sons, more wicked, if possible, than himself. By what the eldest of them has just now done, you may judge what is to be expected from such a race. There! Romans, turn your eyes to that sad spectacle—the daughter of Lucretius—Col-

latinus's wife—she died by her own hand. See there a noble lady, whom the lust of a Tarquin reduced to the necessity of being her own executioner, to attest her innocence. Sextus, hospitably entertained by her, as a kinsman of her husband's,—Sextus, perfidious guest, became her brutal ravisher. The chaste, the generous Lucretia could not survive the insult. Glorious woman! Once only treated as a slave, she thought life no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a woman, disdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will; and shall we, shall men with such an example before our eyes, and after five and twenty years of ignominious servitude, shall we, through a fear of dying, defer one single instant to assert our liberty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favourable moment, we have so long waited for, is come. Tarquin is absent from Rome: the patricians are at the head of the enterprise: the city is abundantly provided with men, arms, and all things necessary. There is nothing wanting to secure the success, if our own courage does not fail us. And shall those warriors who have ever been so brave when foreign enemies were to be subdued, or when conquests were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of a tyrant, be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themselves from slavery? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which Tarquin now commands. The soldiers, you imagine, will take the part of their general. Banish so groundless a fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow

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citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppression with as quick a sense as you that are in Rome, and will as eagerly seize the occasion of throwing off the yoke. But should we grant, there may be some among them, who through baseness of spirit, or a bad education, will be disposed to favour the tyrant, the number of these can be but small, and we have means sufficient in our hands to reduce them to reason. They have left us hostages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage! Romans, the gods are for us, those gods whose temples and altars the impious Tarquin has profaned by sacrifices and libations made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and with numberless unexpiated crimes committed against his subjects. O ye gods, who protected our forefathers, and ye genii, who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome, do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will to our last breath defend your worship from all profanation."

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 275.

Brutus's harangue was often interrupted by the acclamations of the people. Some wept at the remembrance of past sufferings; others out of joy, at the hopes of a more happy government; and every one called out for arms. But Brutus did not judge it proper to arm the people, till they had first confirmed, by their suffrages, a decree of the senate, which was to this effect: it deprived Tarquin of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority,

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condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the gods of hell every Roman who should hereafter by word or deed endeavour his restoration. The curiæ being assembled and the matter proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming the senate's decree.

And now the government being reduced to an interregnum, and the people having declared Spurius Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) inter-rex, the great and important question, the future form of government, was debated by the leaders in the revolution. And here again Brutus discovered himself to be a consummate politician: "Experience," said he, "has shewn us in the examples of Romulus and Numa, and other good kings, that it is by no means proper that Rome should be without supreme magistrates, to keep an even balance of the powers of the senate and people; but it is necessary that the sovereign authority should neither centre in one man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the interests of the public their chief concern; they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual emulation in the discharge of their duty. However, let us take particular care, not to continue their power too long, lest they abuse it, and become unwilling to part with it. Let us change the very names of king and kingdom, and give the two heads that are to govern us the name of consuls<sup>5</sup>, and

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> Pomponius, the civilian, contends, that the name of consul was taken from the word *consulere*, as signifying,

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the Roman state that of republic. Let us abolish the pompous<sup>6</sup> ensigns of regal power, sceptres, crowns, and royal robes; let our consuls only sit on an ivory chair, wear a white robe, and be attended by twelve lictors<sup>7</sup>.

to watch for the public good. Varro derives this name from the same word *consulere*, but in a different signification, namely, as importing to consult, or ask counsel, because the intent of those who first instituted the consuls was, that they should do nothing, but with the advice, or counsel, of the people, and the senate. The law which placed the consuls at the head of the republic, calls them also prætors and judges. We have this law yet remaining, as quoted by Tully in his third book of laws. When it was made in the comitia, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it is said to have run thus: *Regio imperio duo sunt, iique præcundo, judicando, & consulendo, prætores, judices, consules, appellantur. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.* C. & R.

<sup>6</sup> The consuls were only denied the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. Livy, B. 30. assures us, that the consuls, on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, wore the crown of gold, the ivory staff or sceptre, and the habit striped with purple, as the kings did. C. & R.

<sup>7</sup> We read in the fourth book of Valerius Maximus, that the consuls at first retained as many lictors as the kings, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the consul Poplicola reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended with twelve lictors; neither did they divide them so as to have each of them six. They were only guarded by the twelve lictors alternately, each in his month. This we learn from Livy. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls. The consul who was the elder, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. It appears by a line in Virgil's sixth book of the *Æneis*, that Brutus was first attended with the fasces, before his colleague Collatinus:

*Consulis imperium hic primus sævasque secures  
Accipiet ——— C. & R.*

But what am I saying? I am not for utterly abolishing the venerable name of king, which was consecrated by the same auspices as Rome herself at her foundation. Let us give it to that magistrate to whom we commit the superintendency of religion; let his office be for life, and let him be called king of sacred things<sup>3</sup>." The whole council approved of this scheme; and the people, being again assembled by curiæ, established the new form of administration by a law.

But to lose no time, and to put the finishing hand to the revolution, the people were once more called together, not by curiæ, but by centuries, and directed to come armed to the Campus Martius, in order to the election of the two first consuls. There Junius Brutus, the warmest and most active of the patriots, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, being proposed to the people by Lucretius the inter-rex, were unanimously chosen to the new dignity, the Romans believing they could no where find more irreconcilable enemies to the Tarquins. Tullia,

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<sup>3</sup> The rex sacrorum, or rex sacrificulus, was a considerable dignity among the Romans, though inferior to that of pontifex maximus. For fear the name of king should make him too proud, they made him but a subordinate officer, even in the affairs of religion. His wife was called queen. This office was never conferred on any, but in the comitia of the people, assembled in the Campus Martius, by centuries. Nor could any but a patrician be chosen for it. The king of the sacrifices was not suffered to intermeddle with state affairs. Insomuch that when, in the comitia, the sacrifice over which he presided was ended, he withdrew from the assembly. C. & R.

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now seeing that all was lost, and that she could no longer be safe in Rome, left it, to go to her husband. She was hooted at, and cursed by the populace as she passed through the city, yet they forbore to offer her any violence.

In the mean time Tarquin being informed by some who had got out of Rome before the gates were shut, that Brutus was raising commotions to his prejudice, came in all haste to the city, attended only by his sons, and a few friends; but finding the gates shut, the people in arms upon the walls, and that Lucretius refused him entrance, he returned with equal expedition to the camp. There, to his extreme surprise, he found that the conspirators had, during his short absence, gained over the army to them. The consuls not doubting but Tarquin would, upon the first notice of the revolt, hasten to the city, had sent <sup>9</sup> letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at Rome, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrant's yoke. These letters Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius had read in a full assembly of the soldiers convened by centuries, and the matter being put to the vote, it was unanimously agreed to adhere to the decree passed in the city; so that Tarquin being both driven from his capital, and rejected by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly for refuge,

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> Livy (B. 1. c. 60.) says, that Brutus went in person to the camp on this affair, but, to avoid meeting Tarquin, shunned the high road; and that he arrived before Ardea at the same time that Tarquin appeared at the gates of Rome.

with his wife and three sons, to Gabii<sup>1</sup>, that city of Latium, of which he had formerly made his son Sextus governor, investing him with a kind of regal power. Here he continued some time; but not finding the Latines forward enough to espouse his cause, he retired into Hetruria, the country of his mother's family, where he hoped to find more friends, and a readier assistance for attempting the recovery of his throne.

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D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 277.  
p. 279. 5. B.

<sup>1</sup> Tarquin's first retreat, according to Livy, B. 1. c. 60, was to Cære in Hetruria, whither he was followed by only two of his sons. Sextus (he adds) retiring to Gabii, as his kingdom, was there slain by some of the inhabitants, in revenge of his former treachery and cruelties. Livy also makes Sextus to be the youngest of Tarquin's sons, whereas Dionysius makes him the eldest. The last-mentioned author brings Sextus frequently upon the stage after this time; nay he introduces him fourteen years after the expulsion of his father, at the battle of Regillus, where he is killed. The actions which Dionysius ascribes to Sextus in that battle, the fathers Catrou and Rouillé give to a fourth son of Tarquin named Lucius; yet neither Dionysius nor Livy mention more than three sons of that king. Livy, B. 1. c. 52. calls Sextus, *minimus ex tribus*. D. Hal. B. 4. p. 273. makes Brutus say to the people in his speech on the affair of Lucretia, that Tarquin had three sons more wicked than himself: and B. 5. p. 279, Tarquin after his banishment wanders from place to place with his three sons. These three sons were Sextus, Titus and Aruns. If indeed we suppose with Livy that Sextus was slain by the Gabini, and yet suppose with Dionysius, that Tarquin had two sons living at the battle of Regillus, we must unavoidably allow him to have had, in all, four sons; for it is agreed, that Aruns was killed in his encounter with Brutus in the first battle after the regifuge: but it is to be observed, that Dionysius, who makes two of Tarquin's sons to be in the battle of Regillus, makes Sextus to be one of the two; and Livy, who supposes Sextus to be slain before this time, speaks but of one son of Tarquin in that battle.



# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

## BOOK II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN COMMON-WEALTH IN THE YEAR OF ROME 244, TO THE REBUILDING OF THE CITY IN 365, AFTER THE BURNING OF IT BY THE GAULS.

### CHAP. I.

I. *The state and condition of Rome on the abolition of the regal power.* II. *Tarquin prevails with the magistrates of Tarquinii in Hetruria, to send an embassy to Rome in his favour, with a letter from him to the Roman people.* III. *A second embassy from the Tarquinienses to the Romans. The ambassadors engage some of the young patricians in a plot against the new government. It is discovered by Vindicius, a slave. Brutus condemns his own sons to death, and sees the execution.* IV. *Collatinus is forced to abdicate the consulship; and Valerius is chosen to succeed him.* V. *Tarquin having stirred up the Tarquinienses and Veientes to take arms in his cause, they come to a battle with the Romans, in which Brutus is slain.* VI. *The people entertain a jealousy of Valerius's ambition, but soon after give him the name of Poplicola or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the consular authority.*

I. THE banishment of the Tarquins delivered Rome from her domestic tyrants, but it raised her many enemies abroad, and, by occasioning the defection of her allies, reduced her empire almost within the same limits where Romulus had left it. What might properly be called the Roman territory, had always

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DVIII.



Junius  
Brutus  
and Tar-  
quinius  
Collatinus  
Consuls.

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DVIII.

First Con-  
sulship.

been confined to a very narrow circuit. In the space of two hundred and forty-three years, the Romans, though constantly victorious in war, had not gained land enough to supply their city with provisions. The main strength of the state lay in the number of the citizens of Rome, which the custom of transplanting the inhabitants of the conquered cities thither had so prodigiously increased, that it put the Romans in a condition of usurping an authority over other nations, the most inconsiderable of which had an extent of country far exceeding theirs. By frequent incursions and depredations they so harassed the petty states of Latium and Hetruria, that many of them were constrained to enter into treaties with Rome, whereby they obliged themselves to furnish her with auxiliaries, whenever she should be pleased to invade and pillage the lands of her other neighbours. Submissions of this kind she called making alliances with her; and these useful alliances supplied the want of a larger territory. But now, upon the change of her government, all her allies forsook her at once, and either stood neuter, or espoused the cause of the banished king; so that she was left entirely to herself to maintain the liberty she had assumed.

D. Hal. B.  
4. p. 277.

Rome however enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning<sup>2</sup> of the new administration. The

<sup>2</sup> Livy and Dion. Hal. agree in fixing the consulship of Brutus and Collatinus to the year of Rome 245; but the capitoline tables (which the fathers Catrou and Rouillé constantly follow) fix it to the year 244.

army which had been employed in the siege of Ardea marched home under the conduct of Herminius and Horatius, who had made a truce with the Ardeates for fifteen years. Upon this increase of strength, by the return of the troops which had served under Tarquin, the consuls thought it expedient to convene the people again by centuries in the Campus Martius; and when they had in long speeches exhorted them to concord, the decree, passed some days before against the Tarquins, was confirmed. Nor was this all. The consuls standing before the altars where expiatory sacrifices had just been offered, took an oath in the name of themselves, their children, and posterity, that they would never recall king Tarquin, nor his children, nor their posterity from banishment, nor create any other king of Rome, nor suffer any to be created; and they made the people take the same oath. After this the comitia proceeded to elect a rex sacrorum to preside at the sacrifices; and many of the laws of Servius Tullius were revived to the great joy of the people, who were restored to their ancient right of deciding by their votes in all important affairs.

Brutus, being jealous of some in the senate, put all the senators likewise to the test of an oath. In this venerable body Valerius was the man of the greatest weight. He had expected to be named consul at the first election, and being highly displeased at the preference given to Collatinus, had for some time withdrawn himself from public af-

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D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 277.

Livy, B. 2.  
c. 1, 2.

D. Hal. p.  
278.

Plut. in  
Peplic. p.  
97, & 98.

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fairs ; insomuch that he began to be suspected of favouring the banished king : but he removed these apprehensions, by the remarkable zeal he shewed for liberty, when the day came for the senators to take the same oath which the people had taken. He was the first man who swore never to favour the pretensions of the Tarquins ; and his actions soon after proved the sincerity of his oath.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 279.

II. IN the mean time the Tarquins were using their utmost endeavours to stir up the neighbouring states to take arms against Rome. Having wandered from city to city, the old king at length made Tarquinii in Hetruria his place of residence ; and by moving words he so raised the compassion of the Tarquinenses as to engage them to send an embassy to Rome, with a modest, submissive letter from himself, directed to the Roman people.

Plut. in  
Popl. p. 98.

The ambassadors represented to the senate in such strong terms the reasonableness of letting the king be heard, before he was condemned, and the danger which threatened the Roman state, from the neighbouring powers, if that common justice were refused, that the consuls inclined to bring these agents before the people, and leave the decision of the affair to the <sup>3</sup> curiæ : but Valerius strenuously opposed so hazardous a proceeding, and by his influence in the senate defeated this first attempt of the artful Tarquin. Indeed the senate was most

<sup>3</sup> We have this account from Plutarch. D. Hal. affirms, that Brutus had no regard to the remonstrances of the ambassadors.

especially concerned for ever to exclude kings, who had often oppressed it; and the consuls therefore thought it proper to restore that venerable body to all its rights and prerogatives, and to gain it the respect of the people, not only by the dignity but by the number of its members, which Tarquin's murders and proscriptions had greatly diminished. And to this end, wise men, and men of interest, were sought out, amongst the Roman knights, to fill up the vacant places; so that the ancient number of three hundred was once more completed. The old senators had been styled *patres*, or fathers; and because these new ones were put upon the same list with them, they were called *conscripti*<sup>4</sup>, i. e. persons written or enrolled together with them.

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<sup>4</sup> These conscript fathers were called the new senate, *novus senatus*. And it appears by Livy's words, rightly understood, that the old senators only were called *patres*; and that the new ones were distinguished from them by the name of *conscripti*. It is true, Dion. Hal. gives the same name of *patres conscripti* to the first senators, created by Romulus: but this form, *qui patres, quique conscripti essent*, which was used when the senate was called together, sufficiently shews the mistake of the Greek historian; so that when we find in Latin authors, *patres conscripti*, used to express the senate in general, the words must be understood, as if they were joined by a conjunction, *patres, et conscripti*, i. e. the fathers, and those who have been added to them. Festus favours this opinion, when he says, that those were called *conscripti* who had passed from the order of Roman knights into that of senators. Thus far father Rouillé.

Plutarch in his life of Romulus says, that the senators were at first called simply *patres*, and when more were added to them, *patres conscripti*: but this does not determine whether the latter appellation was given them upon

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Livy, B. 2.  
c. 3.

Plut. in  
Popl. p. 98.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 280.

III. BUT notwithstanding all these prudent measures the rising republic was upon the brink of being destroyed in its very beginning. Many of the young patricians having been accustomed to licentiousness and pleasure, the austere form of a republican government, in which the laws alone, always deaf and inexorable, were to reign, gave them greater apprehensions than tyranny itself. They were fond of the flattering distinctions of a court, and could not bear the mortification of seeing themselves almost upon a level with the multitude. The sons of Tarquin building their hopes on these young debauchees, who regretted the loss of their former companions in pleasure, prevailed with the Tarquinienses to send a second embassy to Rome, under pretence of demanding the estates of the exiles; but with private instructions to spirit up a faction, if possible, to attempt the lives of the consuls. The ambassadors were admitted, and nothing could be more modest than the demands of the banished king. He asked only his paternal estate; and on that condition promised never to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by force of arms. The consul Collatinus was for complying with the request; but Brutus opposed it. The affair, having been long considered by the senate, was at last referred to the people. Brutus endeavoured to bring his colleague, who was a relation of the Tarquins, under a suspicion

the addition made by Tatius the Sabine king, by Tarquinius Priscus, or by Brutus.

of treachery. However, the opinion of Collatinus prevailed in the comitia, and it was carried by<sup>5</sup> one vote, that the Tarquins should be put in possession of the estates of their family.

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D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 281.  
Plut. vit.  
Popl. p. 98,  
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Livy, B. 2.  
c. 4.

Whilst the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and in selling what could not be carried off, the ambassadors found means to draw some of the nearest relations of the consuls into a plot against them. These were three young noblemen of the Aquilian family (the sons of Collatinus's sister) and two of the Vitellii (whose sister Brutus had married) and these latter engaged Titus and Tiberius, the two sons of Brutus, in the same conspiracy. They all bound themselves by solemn oaths, with the dreadful ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and touching his entrails. The house of the Aquilii was their place of meeting, and there they all wrote letters to the banished king, which they put into the hands of the ambassadors. But notwithstanding a great deal of precaution used by the conspirators, to keep the secret from their servants, Vindicius a slave, and then butler to the Aquilii, suspecting his master's designs, staid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice saw and heard all that passed. He durst not disclose the secret to either of the consuls, on account of their near

D. Hal. p.  
282.

<sup>5</sup> Dionysius must here mean, that there were sixteen curiæ against fourteen, because he tells us, that the affair was decided by the thirty curiæ.

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D. Hal. p.  
283.

relation to the conspirators: he went straight to Valerius, and unburdened his mind to him. Valerius took the slave under his protection; and then, by the help of his brother M. Valerius, and of his own friends, clients, and domestics, not only seized the letters of the conspirators, but took all the heads of the conspiracy prisoners.

Early the next morning the people being summoned to the comitium, where Brutus and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice, the prisoners were brought forth to trial. Brutus began it with the examination of his two sons. Vindicius appeared against them, and the letters they had written to the Tarquins were read. The proof being clear, the prisoners stood quite silent, and pleaded only by their tears. "Titus and Tiberius," said the stern Brutus, "what have you to offer in your defence?" They were thrice called upon to plead, but tears were still their only answer. The major part of the senators being touched with compassion, a low murmur was heard among them, "Banish them, banish them." Collatinus wept, and even Valerius seemed to relent, because he said nothing. All the people stood trembling in expectation of the sentence. Brutus at length rose up, and with a steady voice, not interrupted by a sigh, said, "Lictors, I deliver them over to you, the rest is your part." At these words the whole assembly shrieked: the universal consternation was inexpressible: distress shewed itself in every face, and the mournful looks of the

people pleaded for pity: but neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father by the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge. The lictors seized upon the criminals, beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads; Brutus all the time gazing on the cruel spectacle with a steady look, and a composed countenance. This execution over, he immediately<sup>6</sup> quitted the tribunal, and left his colleague to do the rest. Collatinus, being inclined to spare his nephews the Aquilii, allowed the prisoners a day to clear themselves;

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Plut. in  
Popl. p.  
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<sup>6</sup> Dion. Hal.'s account of this matter differs from that of Plutarch. The former pretends, that Brutus, immediately after the execution of his children, had the Aquilii brought before him: that after their letters were read aloud, he gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, having nothing to say for themselves, had recourse to tears and entreaties; but to no purpose. For Brutus, still inflexible, ordered the lictors to seize them, and carry them to execution. Collatinus suspended it, and made the warmest remonstrances to his colleague, in favour of the conspirators: but being piqued when he found he could make no impression upon him, he had recourse to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This so exasperated Brutus, that he committed the Aquilii to prison, in spite of the opposition of his colleague, and accused him before the people of treason and perfidiousness. Collatinus seeing with grief, that the people were unanimously against him, and against those whose defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exercise the office of a consul with dignity; and therefore chose to abdicate the magistracy, at the persuasion of Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law. Collatinus was succeeded by Publius Valerius. Brutus immediately, with the concurrence of his new colleague, put all those to death who had been concerned in the conspiracy. D. Hal. p. 284.

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and ordered their slave Vindicius (the only evidence against them) to be delivered up to his masters. But this roused the indignation of the people, as well as the zeal of Valerius, who had promised with an oath to protect the witness. In vain did the lictors attempt to force Vindicius from him; and the multitude called out for Brutus to return to the comitia. When Brutus came, he told the people that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate. Accordingly, by a decree of the curiæ, the conspirators all suffered as rebels, except the ambassadors, who were spared out of respect to the law of nations. As for Vindicius, the people judged him worthy of that liberty⁷ he had secured to the

⁷ It is commonly thought, and is probable enough, this Latin phrase, *vindicare in libertatem*, had its rise from the name of Vindicius, who was made free by the consul: but there are others, who will have it to be derived from the word *vindicta*, which signifies a wand, with which the prætor, whose office it was afterwards to grant freedoms, struck the slave, whose master had a mind to set him at liberty. In order to reconcile these opinions, it may be said, that the wand itself took its name from Vindicius. In the ceremony of granting freedoms publicly (for there were private ones, which were granted either by will, or in the presence of witnesses), the master presented his slave to the prætor, first holding him by the hand, and afterwards quitting his hold; whence came the Latin word *manumissio*. Then, after he had given him a little blow on the cheek, he presented him to the consul or to the prætor: who striking him gently with his wand, pronounced these words: *Aio te liberum esse more quiritium*. This ceremony being ended, the slave was registered upon

Romans; and beside the privileges of a Roman citizen, gave him ^a twenty-five thousand asses of brass (about 80l. 14s. 7d.).

And now, though the people had formerly decreed that the estates of the Tarquins should be restored to them, the senate made no scruple to destroy their palace, and distribute their lands among indigent citizens; the public only retaining a piece of ground (near the Campus Martius) which the king had usurped, and added to his demesnes. This piece of ground they consecrated to Mars, and it became afterwards a common field, where the Roman youth exercised themselves in running and wrestling. But after this consecration, the Romans scrupled to house the corn which they found there ready reaped to their hands; so that, with some trees, it was thrown into

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 5.
Plutarch,
p. 100.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 287,
288.

the roll of freed-men. Then he was shaved, and put on the cap called pileus, which was worn by the Romans upon certain days. In order to make the taking possession of this kind of cap more solemn, it was performed in the temple of Feronia, the goddess of the freed-men. In one of these temples there was a stone seat, with this inscription on it: *Benemeriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi*: and it is well known, that the pileus was, among the ancient Romans, the sign and symbol of liberty. At the death of Nero, the people appeared in the streets with this cap on their heads. C. & R.

^a Livy says only, that a sum of money was given to Vindicius. It is here fixed at five and twenty thousand asses of brass; because Livy himself, in B. 9. of his first Decad, has observed, that the reward appointed by law, for the slaves who should discover conspiracies, amounted to that sum; as that for free-men did to a hundred thousand. C. & R.

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the Tiber, and the water being low, it stopped in the middle of the river, and began to form that fine island which was called *Insula sacra*, after many temples had been built on it.

IV. THE severity with which Brutus had treated his two sons greatly increased his authority, insomuch, that there was not a single Roman who durst for the future entertain a thought of bringing back Tarquin. Collatinus, on the contrary, by his weak conduct with regard to the conspirators, had exasperated the Romans against him; his very name of *Tarquinius* became an offence to them. Brutus observing this, and hating his colleague, either on account of his relation to the Tarquins, or because there was some reason to believe he secretly favoured them, or perhaps only because he was of a character and temper different from his own, took advantage of the disposition the people were in to get him deposed. In a numerous assembly, he made a speech to them to this effect: “If, Romans, when you chose two consuls, you could at the same time have united their sentiments and inclinations, there would have been no defect in the new government, and I should have had nothing more to wish. But it unfortunately happens, that there is as great a difference betwixt Collatinus and me, as between a hatred of tyranny, and a love of tyrants. His affection for his detestable family, makes him run all hazards to restore our oppressors; whilst I am profuse of my own blood to preserve the liberty of my country. Have not all

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 284,
& 285.

Collatinus's thoughts, and the whole strength of his interest, been levelled at the destruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend? And you had hopes he would defend it: but his soliciting you to restore the tyrants their estates, and the impunity with which he was going to dismiss the conspirators, have discovered his secret inclinations and designs. What! Collatinus, have I refused to spare my own children, and shall I spare you? A man, whose body only is with us, and whose soul and affections are with our enemies? A perfidious man, who would preserve the betrayers of his country, and would destroy me for being its zealous defender? No, far from shewing you any indulgence, I declare you from this moment deposed from the magistracy; and I command you to retire to some other city. As for you, Romans, I shall without delay assemble you by centuries, that you may confirm, if you think good, the sentence I have pronounced. You are free to choose whether to have Collatinus or Brutus for your consul; but be assured of this, you cannot have both."

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These words raised so great a commotion among the people, that they would scarce hear Collatinus's defence: in vain did he reproach Brutus with betraying his friend, and defaming his colleague; no attention was given to his invectives. At length, by virtue of his authority as consul, he forbid the holding that assembly of which Brutus had spoken. But this prohibition incensed the people yet

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 286.

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more, and they cried out to have their votes instantly taken. Collatinus was just going to be deposed with ignominy, and banished by a public decree, when his father-in-law, Sp. Lucretius, desired permission of the consuls to speak to the assembly, and obtained it. He is said to have been the first private man that ever made a speech in the comitia. His age, and the remembrance of Lucretia his daughter, gained him attention; and he addressed himself first to his son-in-law: "It is in vain, Collatinus, to pretend, against the will of the people, to continue in the consulship. You received it at first from them; and to them you ought now to resign it. As to the crimes, of which you are accused, you will more easily clear yourself by your future conduct, than by all your protestations, or by any thing you can say. If the people judge it necessary for their tranquillity that you should retire, do you shew your regard and deference for the public by acquiescing in the public sentiment. You should consider that though with respect to all other crimes, it is only the actual commission of them that is cognizable by the justice of a nation; yet when treason against the state is but apprehended, and this upon never so ill grounds, it is held more prudent to guard against it, as an evil really impending, than to run the least hazard of destruction by too much security."

Then turning to Brutus, he pressed him not to insist on the disgraceful banishment of a colleague, who had so happily joined with him

in measures which had procured the common liberty; and he added, that if Collatinus would of his own accord divest himself of the consulship, and retire from Rome, not only time ought to be allowed him to remove his effects, but a present made him out of the public treasury, a mark of the people's good will, which might be a consolation to him under his misfortune.

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This advice of Lucretius being received by the assembly with applause, Collatinus became sensible that he had no way left but to conform himself to it; therefore when he had invoked the gods to be witnesses of his innocence, and of the ingratitude of his relations and friends, he resigned the consulship. Brutus highly commended his wisdom, and to remove all suspicion of his having any personal enmity to him, procured him a present of⁹ twenty talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. The place to which Collatinus chose to retire was Lavinium; where he lived in peace, and at last died of old age.

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 287.

Brutus, that he might not give the Romans any cause to suspect that he intended to govern singly, and under the name of consul, aimed at the authority of a king, immediately assembled the centuries in the Campus Mar-

⁹ According to Dr. Arbuthnot, who reckons but sixty minæ to a talent, the twenty talents amount to three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling. Livy represents Collatinus as resigning before the conspiracy, and Valerius as consul when it was discovered.
B. 2. c. 2, 3.

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Plut. p. 100.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 287.
* p. 84.

tius, in order to proceed to the election of a new consul, to fill the place of Collatinus. The suffrages of the people were in favour of Publius Valerius, a descendant of that noble Sabine named Valerius Volesus, to whom Plutarch (as was before * observed) gives the honour of negotiating the peace between the Sabines and Romans, in Romulus's time. Publius had got himself a great name by the means of his wealth and his eloquence ; which latter he had, during Tarquin's reign, generously employed in the defence of justice, as he had done his riches in the relief of the poor, to whom he was ever easy of access. He was also remarkable for his frugality and temperance ; and in all the parts of his conduct from his early years he discovered such a surprising wisdom, that he seemed to have been born a philosopher. The two consuls, equally eminent for their love of the public good, began their joint administration, by passing a law which granted a general amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the Tarquins, provided they returned to the city within twenty days ; and this brought back a great number of excellent subjects to Rome.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 6.

V. HOWEVER, nothing could so far discourage the dethroned king, as to make him quit the hope of recovering the kingdom by force. He went about, soliciting the neighbouring nations, and engaged the Veientes and Tarquinienses to unite their forces in the support of his cause. The first were moved to it by the hopes of regaining what they had lost in their former wars with Rome, having

now at their head a Roman general of known courage and ability: and as for the Tarquinienses, the considerations of name and blood, and the glory of having a man of their own nation king of Rome, were to them sufficient inducements. These allies took the field, and entered the Roman territory. The consuls without delay marched out their troops to meet them; Brutus commanded the horse, and Valerius the foot drawn up in a square battalion. The two armies being in sight of each other, Brutus advanced with his cavalry at the same time that Aruns, one of Tarquin's sons, was coming forward at the head of the enemy's horse, the king himself following with the legions. Aruns no sooner discovered Brutus attended by the lictors, but all inflamed with rage, he cried out, "There he is, that enemy who has banished us from our native country! See how gallantly he rides adorned with all the ensigns of my father's dignity! Now aid me, ye gods, the avengers of injured kings!" This said, he instantly set spurs to his horse, making directly at the consul, who perceiving his design made no less speed to meet him. Blindly following the dictates of hatred and passion, and regardless of self-preservation, they rushed on to the encounter, and with their lances ran each other through the body. They both fell dead from their horses; and the death of these generals was the prelude to the battle. Never was the success of an engagement more dubious; for when the night had put an end to it, it was

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D. Hal. Liv.
Val. Max.
Plut. Popl.
p. 101.
Livy, ibid.
D. Hal. p.
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Livy, B. 2.
c. 7.
Plut. *ibid.*

not known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men. A report was spread, that a voice had been heard out of the wood Arsia, declaring the Romans conquerors; a stratagem probably of Valerius. Be that as it will, it is certain that their enemies, very soon after the action, left their camp in confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. And it is said, that Valerius, remaining master of the field of battle, caused the slain to be numbered, and then found, that the Hetrurians had lost eleven thousand three hundred men, and the Romans only eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-nine.

D. Hal. p.
291.
Plut. *ibid.*

Livy, B. 2.
c. 7.

Rome was inconsolable for the loss of Brutus; a hero who had restored liberty to his country, cemented it with the blood of his children, and died in defending it against the tyrant. The first funeral honours were paid him in the camp; but, the next day after Valerius's triumph, the corpse was brought into the forum in a magnificent litter, and then Valerius gave Rome the first example of those funeral orations, which were ever after made in praise of great men. The ladies distinguished themselves on this occasion. To shew their respect for the avenger of the sex's honour, they mourned for him a whole year, as if they had lost a common father.

D. Hal. p.
292.

VI. As Valerius, for some reasons, deferred convening the centuries for the election of a new consul, this delay began to raise a distrust, as if it were owing to ambitious designs, a

jealousy which seemed to be in some measure authorised by his then building a fine house on a steep part of the hill Palatinus, which overlooked the forum. The people considered it as a citadel, whence the new monarch might command the city. But when Valerius was informed of their uneasiness, he ordered some workmen to go the very next night and pull down the fabric to the ground; and calling the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their unjust suspicions, and bid them go see the ruins of his house: he then told them he would fix his habitation in the valley, that from the top of the hill, where he had intended to dwell, they might crush him with stones, if he continued to be the object of their jealousy. This said, he ordered the comitia to assemble for the election of a new consul, in which he left them entirely free; and they chose Lucretius, the father of the unfortunate Lucretia. The people, as they came out of the comitia, being ashamed of having suspected Valerius, complimented him with a large ground-plot, in an agreeable place, and there they built him a house.

The new consul died in a few days after his promotion, so that Valerius was once more sole governor. And now the sensible proofs which, in the interval between the death of Lucretius and the election of another colleague, he gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained him the surname of Poplicola, or Popular; they called him by no other ever after. He ordered the axes, which

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 7.
Plut. Popl.
p. 102.

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 292.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 8.
Plut. Popl.
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Plut. Popl.
p. 103.

were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the fasces; and commanded the lictors to lower these in the assemblies of the people, by way of homage to their sovereignty. And this was a kind of introduction to a law, enacted while he was sole consul, whereby an accused person was allowed to appeal to the people from the judgment of the magistrates. Another law was made, exempting artificers, widows, and old men (who had no children to relieve them) from paying tribute. A third law, though it prescribed an absolute submission to the orders of the consuls, yet limited the penalty for disobedience to the value of five oxen and two rams (probably pieces of money with those figures stamp'd upon them). And, to remove all manner of suspicion of his having the least thoughts of tyranny, Poplicola published a fourth decree, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any person who should aim at being master of the liberty of his fellow-citizens, and so likewise in the case of usurping a public office without the people's consent: the assassin was to be declared innocent, provided he brought proof of the ill designs of him he had slain¹.

Poplicola would not take upon him the keeping of the public money raised to defray the expenses of war; but caused it to be deposited in the temple of Saturn²; and

¹ Livy represents these laws as made before the election of Lucretius to the consulship. B. 2. c. 8.

² The public treasury was called *Ærarium*; because at

by his advice the people appointed two persons, elected out of the senate to take the charge of it. These officers they afterwards called quæstors. The first persons chosen to this office were P. Veturius and M. Minucius.

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When Poplicola had by these regulations done all he desired towards diminishing the consular authority, he assembled the people in the Campus Martius, for the election of a new consul, to be his colleague; and the choice fell upon Horatius Pulvillus.

first nothing was lodged in it but unstamped brass, which went by weight, and which was called *æs rude*. Afterwards stamped pieces of brass were lodged there, which were called *æs grave*, or *æs leve*, according to the different weight of the several coins. This treasure had been kept at the houses of the kings and consuls, till the time of Poplicola, who removed it to the temple of Saturn, which was situated at the foot of the hill Saturnius, or the Capitol. In after-times, the public treasury was divided into two branches; the one was called, the common treasury, or *ærarium vulgare*; the other was called, the sacred treasury, or *ærarium sanctius*; in which the *aurum vice-simarium* was reserved for the extraordinary occasions of the commonwealth. But of this in its proper place.

According to Plutarch, there were no quæstors in Rome, till Poplicola's time; and this office was originally a branch of that of the consuls. But Ulpian pretends, on the contrary, and quotes several authors for it, that there were quæstors even in Tullus Hostilius's time. It was therefore to be observed, that the name of quæstors, among the Romans, had two different significations. Sometimes it signified commissioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and sometimes magistrates who were put in commission for getting in the public money. Ulpian might speak of the former sort of quæstors, as being in the time of the kings, and Plutarch of the other sort, which was introduced by Poplicola in the time of the commonwealth. These latter quæstors were chosen by the people assembled in *comitia*. C. & R.

CHAP. II.

I. *Poplicola is chosen consul a second time, and T. Lucretius appointed to be his colleague. Porsena, king of Clusium in Hetruria, sends a threatening embassy to Rome. The Romans choose Poplicola consul a third time, and give him Horatius Pulvillus for a colleague.* II. *Porsena, in conjunction with some of the Latine states, marches an army into the neighbourhood of Rome. The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.* III. *The desperate enterprise and wonderful resolution of Mucius Scævola. Porsena, intimidated by the courage of the Romans, desists from his demand of having the banished king restored. He makes a truce with the Romans, who refer it to his judgment, whether they shall restore to Tarquin his paternal estate or not. The adventure of Clælia during the pleadings. Porsena renounces the cause of Tarquin entirely, and makes a peace with the Romans.* IV. *The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is consecrated. Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius chosen consuls. The Romans shew their gratitude to Porsena.*

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5. p. 293.

IN a few months after the promotion of Horatius, the first year of the consular power expired, and then the Romans thought fit, because of the present critical situation of their affairs, to choose Poplicola again; and with him they joined T. Lucretius, the brother of the famous Lucretia. These began their administration by reviving the old institutions of king Servius Tullius, the census³ and the lus-

³The learned differ about the persons whose names were given in upon each Roman census. Some will have it, that in this multitude, all the Roman citizens were comprehended, without excepting their wives, children, widows, orphans, or pupils. But is it credible, that the

trum, and they found the number of Roman citizens, at or past the age of puberty, to be

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commonwealth, when Rome was become the capital of the world, should reckon but three hundred, four hundred, and never so much as five hundred thousand citizens, in all the Roman territory, and in the whole extent of its municipal towns? For we do not find that the most numerous census ever exceeded five hundred thousand, for above seven hundred years together. Others think that the number mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors comprehended only the heads of families. But this opinion cannot be supported. For, not to say that it cannot be reconciled with the account the historians give us, we shall never be persuaded, that under the consulship of Valerius, for instance, the Roman state, which was confined within narrow limits, and extended little farther than the walls of Rome, should be able to reckon up a hundred and thirty thousand heads of families; and consequently, several millions of souls, including children, slaves, widows, orphans, pupils, strangers, &c. whose names were not taken down in the census. It is therefore more reasonable to conclude, with Fabius Pictor, as quoted by Livy, that none but those who were able to bear arms were included in this reckoning; i. e. those only who were above seventeen years of age, and under forty-six. Thus we are to understand Dion. Hal. when, speaking of this fifth Roman census, he says, that the number of those who were arrived to the age of puberty, ἐν ἡβῇ, amounted to a hundred and thirty thousand men. He speaks in much the same manner, whenever he mentions the census, always excepting the women, children, orphans, handicraftsmen, slaves, and people of mean trades and low condition of life, who in earlier times of the republic were excluded from the Roman militia; as we are informed by credible authors. And in short, if we do but consider, that at the end of Romulus's reign the Roman army consisted of forty-six thousand foot, and very near a thousand horse, it will not appear at all surprising, that Rome, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, should be able to raise a hundred and thirty

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a hundred and thirty thousand. As a war from the Latine quarter was what the Romans, at this time, chiefly apprehended, the consuls at a great expense fortified Sinquirinum, or Sigliuria, an important post on that side. However the first of the neighbouring powers that appeared, after the death of Brutus, in favour of the Tarquins, was Porsena, a potent prince, king of Clusium in Hetruria. He sent a haughty and threatening embassy to the Romans, requiring them either to recall the Tarquins, or to give them back their estates. The first they absolutely refused, and as to the second, they answered, that it was impracticable; a part of those estates having been consecrated to Mars, and the rest divided among indigent people, from whom they could not be recovered.

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D. Hal. p.
294.

While the Romans were employed in preparations for a brave defence, the time came for electing new consuls, and then Poplicola was chosen a third time, and, with him, Horatius Pulvillus, who had before been a few months in that office.

II. PORSENA, attended by his son Aruns and the exiles, marched towards Rome with a formidable army, and was joined by a considerable body of Latines, under the command of Mamilius, Tarquin the Proud's son-in-law. The consuls upon their approach made the peasants carry their effects into strong holds, thousand men; especially since the inhabitants of Alba and the other conquered cities had removed thither.
C. & R.

and they endeavoured to secure the hill Janiculum which overlooked Rome, and was its only fortification on that side the Tiber. And to keep the populace in temper and spirit, the senate made several agreeable regulations with respect to taxes and provisions, and took great care to provide for their subsistence during the war; they sent to several parts of Campania, and even to Cumæ, to fetch corn, which was afterwards sold to the common people at low rates, lest the want of bread should tempt them to purchase it with the common liberty, and open the gates of Rome to Tarquin. Nay the senators, at the same time that they taxed themselves higher than any others, would lay no impost on the common people during the war; following this generous and equitable maxim, "That the lower sort paid tribute enough to the commonwealth by bringing up children who would in time be able to defend it." In a word, the Romans were all sensible of the difference of the present government from the former, and all equally solicitous to avoid servitude; so that concord reigned in Rome even in the time of a famine with which it was grievously afflicted before the end of this war.

Porsena soon displayed his banners along the Tiber. His first attack was upon the fort of the Janiculum, and he drove the Romans out of it. Upon this, the consuls made all their troops pass the river, and drew them up in order of battle to defend the bridge: and

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 9.

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 294,
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Livy, B. 2.
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Porsena advanced to engage them. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but M. Valerius (Poplicola's brother) and T. Lucretius, who were at the head of the left wing, being both unfortunately wounded and carried out of the field, a general terror seized the Roman army. The bridge Sublicius was in a moment covered with runaways, who strove to gain the city; Horatius Cocles (nephew of Horatius the consul) being joined by Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, (who had commanded the right wing) these three gallant men, to hinder the enemy from pursuing the Romans, posted themselves at the entrance of the bridge, and for a long time bravely defended it. The defensive arms of Lartius and Herminius being at length broken, they retired; Horatius desiring them to advise the consuls, from him, to cut the bridge at the other end. Then for a while he sustained alone the attack of the enemy. The heaps of dead bodies which had fallen by the hands of the three heroes formed a kind of rampart for him against close assaults, and with his buckler he covered himself from the missive weapons thrown at him. At length being wounded in the thigh, and the signal being given that the bridge was almost broken down, he leapt into the river, and swam across it through a shower of darts. Thus Cocles saved the republic from ruin; and the Romans being sensible of it, erected a statue of brass to him in the temple of Vulcan. They gave him likewise as much land as he himself, with

one yoke of oxen, could plough in one day. And each of the inhabitants of Rome, to the number of three hundred thousand, gave him the value of as much food as each consumed in a day. But notwithstanding all this, because he had lost one eye, and from his wounds continued lame the remaining part of his life, these defects prevented his ever being elected to the consulship, or to any military command.

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Though the city was not intirely invested, but had several avenues open, it was very difficult to find provisions for so great a number of inhabitants, as could hardly subsist there in time of peace; and a famine began to be severely felt. Porsena, having notice of it, sent the Romans word, that if they would receive their old masters he would furnish them with provisions; to which they returned this answer, "That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression."

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 297.

III. NEVERTHELESS Rome was almost wearied out with this long siege, when Mucius Cordus, a young Roman of noble birth, desired permission of the consuls and senate to cross the Tiber, and go into the enemy's camp, there to attempt something for the service of his country; and he begged, as his only recompense, that, in case he fell in the dangerous enterprise, his zeal might not be buried in oblivion, but proclaimed after his death. The consuls and senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the present exigence, he dressed himself in an

Livy, B. 2.
c. 12.
Plut. Popl.
p. 106.
D. Hal. B.
5. p. 298.

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Hetrurian habit, and, with a poniard hid under his clothes, left the city. As he spoke the language of the Hetrurians perfectly well, he easily got into their camp, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were reviewed and paid. Porsena's secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king, giving audience, and receiving petitions. Mucius mistook him for the king himself, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one stroke of his poniard laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to escape, but was seized, and brought back to the presence of Porsena. "Thou execrable villain," said the king, "who art thou, whence comest thou? Who are thy accomplices?" Mucius, with a haughty look that struck more terror than it expressed fear, answered, "that his name was Caius Mucius; that he was a Roman; and that Roman bravery made him capable of attempting whatever man could do, and of suffering whatever man could endure." Porsena, filled with amazement at his answer, was yet more astonished when he saw him with a steady countenance, and a look which testified his inward rage for having missed his aim, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there let it broil, without shewing any signs of pain. The king's resentment changed wholly into admiration; he granted him life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger with which he had designed to stab him; and because Mucius, having now lost

the use of his right hand, took it with his left, he had thence the surname of Scaevola, i. e. left-handed.

The Roman was no less surprised at the king's generosity than the king had been at his intrepid boldness: however he had the presence of mind to invent a story for the service of his country. He pretended to be moved by the king's goodness to discover to him a secret, which he said no torments could have extorted from him: "That three hundred young Romans, all as resolute as himself, and who were dispersed in the Hettrurian camp, had bound themselves by the most sacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, at the like hazard as he had done." This discourse struck Porsena once more with terror, and having ordered Mucius to withdraw, he called a council to deliberate upon the best means to preserve himself from the dangers with which he was threatened. His son Aruns, a great admirer of the Roman virtue, advised him to render all precautions needless, by concluding a peace with the Romans. The king readily listened to this proposal, and the more readily as the Romans, in a sally out of the town, had destroyed a great many of his troops; which occasioned a murmuring in the camp: deputies were sent to Rome, who had orders not to mention the recalling of the Tarquins, but only to insist on a restitution of their estates, or an equivalent; and as to what concerned the Hettrurian nation, to require the Romans to reinstate the Veientes in the pos-

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D. Hal. B.
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session of seven villages taken from them in former wars. Poplicola, zealous to have the people relieved in their misery, prevailed with the senate to comply with these conditions: but the people themselves refused to consent to the first article, till Porsena had heard their cause pleaded against the Tarquins; and to his arbitration they left it. As to the second, they readily agreed to it, and offered hostages to secure its performance.

A truce being made, the Romans deputed some of the senators to plead their cause before the Hetrurian king, and, at the same time, sent ten young virgins, and as many boys, of the best families in Rome, for hostages: but then the Tarquins refused to admit Porsena for a judge between him and the Romans. The king however resolved to inform himself in the affair, and made his son Aruns his associate for the hearing and deciding it. The Roman deputies had scarce begun to open the cause, when the proceeding was interrupted by news brought, that the young women, given as hostages, had ventured to swim cross the Tiber, and were returned to Rome. They had been permitted to bathe in the river; where the famous Clælia (one of the number), happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, took a longing to go back to it. Away she swims, the rest follow her, and they all get safe to the opposite shore. When the truth of the matter was

Plut. Vit.
Popl. p.
106.

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 520.
Plut. ibid.
p. 107.

* Livy adds, that they passed the river through a shower of Hetrurian darts.

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known it served only to increase the esteem which Porsena and Aruns had for the Roman bravery. But in the mean time Poplicola was very uneasy at the return of the young women, among whom was his own daughter Valeria. He dispatched a deputation to the Hettrurian camp, to excuse the folly of the girls, and with a promise to send them back. Mamilius and the Tarquins having notice of this, prepared an ambush to surprise them on the road; and when the Roman maids, under the guard of a few horsemen, were almost at the gates of Porsena's camp, they appeared on a sudden with a considerable body of horse, and fell with fury upon the weak convoy. Poplicola had by good fortune put himself at the head of the Roman troop; he sustained the attack of the enemy with incredible valour, while his daughter Valeria, exceedingly terrified, rode full speed to the Hettrurian camp, and gave notice of the danger her father was in; and then Aruns, with a great body of cavalry, flying to his relief, the assailants were soon routed. This attempt of the Tarquins greatly displeased Porsena, and gave him a strong suspicion of the badness of their cause. He summoned the chief officers of his army, and, in their presence, heard the complaints of the Romans; who enlarged on all the crimes committed by their tyrants, from the assassination of king Servius, to the violence committed on the chaste Lucretia. The Hettrurians were filled with horror; and Porsena, renouncing all alliance with the Tarquins and Mamilius,

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D. Hal. p.
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Livy, B. 2.
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Plut. Popl.
107.

ordered them to leave his camp. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and enquired who was the first author of their enterprise. Clælia, with a fearless air, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had emboldened the rest by her advice. The king, as much surprised with her steadiness as with her courage, addressed himself to her in a gracious manner, extolled her adventure above the bravery of Horatius, and the intrepidity of Mucius, and made her a present of a fine horse with sumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the Romans, restored them all their hostages, and told the consul, that he looked upon the Roman probity as the best guarantee of the treaty.

And now Porsena being to return to Clusium, signalized his departure from the neighbourhood of Rome by an act of liberality, which the noble manner of it made the more agreeable to the Romans. He ordered his Hetrurians to leave behind them their tents furnished with all sorts of provisions, and other valuable effects, and to carry nothing away with them but their arms. Rome was hereby much relieved in her wants; and the Romans, on this occasion, took up a custom, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be sold, of proclaiming them by a herald, in the following words, "These are Porsena's goods;" the intention of which was, to preserve the memory of that prince's kindness; and it also signified that the effects exposed to sale would

be sold cheap. More than this, the senate set up a brazen statue of the king near the comitium, and sent an embassy to him with a present of a throne, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe⁵.

IV. WHEN, after the departure of Porsena, the Romans had rewarded those who had behaved themselves well in the siege, and particularly Mucius Scævola, to whom they gave a large piece of ground, and erected a statue, their next care was to shew their gratitude to the gods, by some public act of religion. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, though finished, had not yet been consecrated. It naturally belonged to one of the consuls to perform the ceremony; and it must prove an immortal honour to whoever should do it. Had the election of the consecrator been in the people, Poplicola would undoubtedly have carried it: but it was the senate's right to no-

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D. Hal. p.
303, 304.

⁵ These presents being of the same kind with those which the Heturians are represented to have sent * to Tarquin the elder by way of recognizing his sovereignty over them, as a people subdued, give good ground to believe, that Porsena took Rome, and totally subjugated the Romans. Tacitus speaks of it as a thing well known, that the city surrendered to Porsena: *Sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi* [the capitol] *auspicato a majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsena dedita urbe, neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, &c.* L. 3. c. 72. Hist. And Pliny says, that in the treaty which Porsena granted the Romans, an express stipulation is found, that they should make no use of iron but for the business of agriculture. *In fœdere quod expulsis regibus, populo Romano dedit Porsena, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur.* L. 34. c. 14.

* See B. 1.
c. 6. § 3.

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minate the man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of Poplicola, sent him upon a slight expedition, and, in his absence, commissioned his colleague to dedicate⁶ the temple.

⁶ The honour of dedicating a temple was a mark of distinction, which the great men of Rome earnestly solicited. This office, in the earliest times of the commonwealth, belonged to him of the two consuls, whom the senate should appoint. Afterwards the people, assembled by tribes, named the consecrator. At length the right of nomination was again in the senate, and this even in the time of the Roman emperors. The dedication of a temple was a solemn festival, accompanied with extraordinary rejoicings. The altars were then adorned with flowers and garlands; sacrifices were offered up, and hymns sung to instruments. The magistrate who was to preside at the ceremony gave the college of the pontifices notice of the day of the dedication. He summoned the pontifex maximus to appear at the temple, and pronounce the words of consecration: after whom, this magistrate repeated them, word for word, with his hand upon the side-post of the door of the temple. He was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A syllable forgotten, or ill pronounced, gave the people an alarm, and they thought it an inauspicious omen to the consecrator. Therefore Metellus, the pontifex maximus, who had an impediment in his speech, was several months learning to articulate the word *opifera*. It was not lawful to appear at this solemnity in mourning, but only in white clothes.

The name of the magistrate who performed the ceremony of the consecration was usually inscribed on the frontispiece of the temple. Thus far F. Cat. and Rouillé.

It may be proper here to take notice once for all of the general names by which the places set apart for divine worship are called in ancient authors.

Templum, was a place which had not been only dedicated to some deity, but withal formally consecrated by the augurs.

Ædes sacræ, were such as wanted that consecration; which if they afterwards received, they changed their names to temples. Vid. A. Gell. L. 14. c. 7.

We are told, that just as Horatius was beginning, at the door of it, to pronounce the form

Delubrum, according to Servius, was a place that under one roof comprehended several deities.

Ædícula is only a diminutive, and signifies no more than a little ædes.

Sacellum may be derived the same way from ædes sacra. Festus tells us, it is a place sacred to the gods, without a roof. Ken. Antiq. Part. 2. B. 1. Ch. 3.

It were endless (adds Mr. Kennet) to reckon up but the bare names of all the temples we meet with in authors. The most celebrated on all accounts were, the Capitol and the Pantheon.

The Capitol, or temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was the effect of a vow made by Tarquinius Priscus in the Sabine war*. But he had scarce laid the foundations before his death. His nephew [son, or grandson] Tarquin the Proud, finished it with the spoils taken from the neighbouring nations†. But upon the expulsion of the kings, the consecration was performed by Horatius the consul‡. The structure stood on a high ridge, taking in four aeres of ground. The front was adorned with three rows of pillars, the other sides with two§. The ascent from the ground was by a hundred steps||. The prodigious gifts and ornaments, with which it was at several times endowed, almost exceed belief. Suetonius¶ tells us, that Augustus gave at one time two thousand pounds weight of gold: and in jewels and precious stones, to the value of five hundred sesterces. Livy and Pliny** surprise us with accounts of the brazen thresholds, the noble pillars that Sylla removed hither from Athens out of the temple of Jupiter Olympus; the gilded roof, the gilded shields, and those of solid silver; the huge vessels of silver, holding three measures; the golden chariot, &c. This temple was first consumed by fire in the Marian war, and then rebuilt by Sylla, who dying before the dedication, left that honour to Quintus Catulus. This too was demolished in the

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* Liv. lib. 3. † Ibid. ‡ Plutarch in Poplicol. § Dionys. Halicar. || Tacitus. ¶ In August. cap. 30. ** Liv. lib. 10. 35, 38. Pliny, lib. 33, &c.

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of consecration, Poplicola's brother Marcus, who had watched his opportunity, cried out,

Vitellian sedition. Vespasian undertook a third, which was burnt down about the time of his death. Domitian raised the last and most glorious of all; in which the very gilding amounted to twelve thousand talents*. On which account Plutarch† hath observed of that emperor, that he was like Midas, desirous of turning every thing into gold. There are very little remains of it at present; yet enough to make a christian church‡.

The Pantheon was built by Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law to Augustus Cæsar; and dedicated either to Jupiter Ultor, or to Mars and Venus, or more probably, to all the gods in general, as the very name (*quasi Tōν πάντων Θεῶν*) implies. The structure, according to Fabricius§, is a hundred and forty feet high, and about the same breadth. But a later author hath increased the number of feet to a hundred and fifty-eight. The roof is curiously vaulted, void places being left here and there for the greater strength. The rafters were pieces of brass of forty feet in length. There are no windows in the whole edifice, only a round hole at the top of the roof, which serves very well for the admission of the light. Diametrically under is cut a curious gutter to receive the rain. The walls on the inside are either solid marble, or incrustéd||. The front on the outside was covered with brazen plates gilt, the top with silver plates, which are now changed to lead¶. The gates were brass, of extraordinary work and bigness**.

The temple is still standing with little alteration, besides the loss of the old ornaments, being converted into a christian church by Pope Boniface III. (or, as Polydore Virgil†† hath it, by Boniface IV.) dedicated to St. Mary, and All Saints, though the general name be St. Mary de Rotonda‡‡. The most remarkable difference is, that whereas heretofore they ascended by twelve steps, they now go down as many to the entrance§§.

The ceremony of the consecration of temples (a piece

* Plutarch in Poplicola: † Ibid. ‡ Fabric. Roma, cap. 9.

§ Ibid. || Marlian. Topog. Rom. Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 6. ¶ Ibid.

& Fabric. Rom. cap. 9. ** Marlian. ibid. †† Lib. 6. cap. 8.

‡‡ Fabric. cap. 9. §§ Ibid.

“Thy son, O consul, lies dead in the camp :”
the thing was false, but he hoped by these

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Plut. Popl.
p. 104.


of superstition very well worth our notice) we cannot better apprehend, than by the following account, which Tacitus gives us of that solemnity, in reference to the capitol, when repaired by Vespasian : though perhaps the chief rites were celebrated upon the entire raising of the structure, this being probably intended only for the hal-
lowing the floor. Undecimo Kalendas Julias*, &c.

“Upon the 21st of June, being a very clear day, the whole plot of ground designed for the temple was bound about with fillets and garlands. Such of the soldiers as had lucky names entered first with boughs in their hands, taken from those trees which the gods more especially delighted in. Next came the vestal virgins, with boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were living, and sprinkled the place with brook-water, river-water, and spring-water. Then Helvidius Priscus the prætor (Plautus Elian, one of the chief priests, going before him), after he had performed the solemn sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bullock, for the purgation of the floor, and laid the entrails upon a green turf, humbly besought Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the other deities, protectors of the empire, that they would be pleased to prosper their present undertaking, and accomplish, by their divine assistance, what human piety had thus begun. Having concluded his prayer, he put his hand to the fillets, to which the ropes, with a great stone fastened in them, had been tied for this occasion ; when immediately the whole company of priests, senators, knights, with the greatest part of the common people, laying hold together on the rope, with all the expressions of joy, drew the stone into the trench designed for the foundation, throwing in wedges of gold, silver, and other metals, which had never endured the fire.”

Some curious persons have observed this similitude between the shape of these old temples, and our modern churches : that they had one apartment more holy than the rest, which they termed cella, answering to our chancel or

* Hist. lib. 4.

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words to avert him from his purpose. Horatius, without shewing the least emotion, only

choir: that the porticos in the sides were in all respects like to our isles; and that our navis, or body of the church, is an imitation of their basilica*.

There are two other temples particularly worth our notice; not so much for the magnificence of the structure, as for the customs that depend upon them, and the remarkable use to which they were put. These are the temples of Saturn and Janus.

The first was famous upon account of serving for the public treasury: the reason of which some fancy to have been, because Saturn first taught the Italians to coin money; or, as Plutarch conjectures, because in the golden age under Saturn, all persons were honest and sincere, and the names of fraud and covetousness unknown in the world†. But perhaps there might be no more in it, than that this temple was one of the strongest places in the city, and so the fittest for that use. Here were preserved all the public registers and records, among which were the *libri elephantini*, or great ivory tables, containing a list of all the tribes, and the schemes of the public accounts.

The other was a square piece of building (some say of entire brass) so large as to contain a statue of Janus five feet high; with brazen gates of each side, which used always to be kept open in war, and shut in time of peace‡.

But the Romans were so continually engaged in quarrels, that we find the last custom but seldom put in practice.

First, all the long reign of Numa. Secondly, A. U. C. 519, upon the conclusion of the first Punic war. Thirdly, by Augustus, A. U. C. 725; and twice more by the same emperor, A. U. C. 729. And again about the time of our Saviour's birth. Then by Nero, A. U. C. 811. Afterwards by Vespasian, A. U. C. 824. And lastly, by Constantius, when, upon Magnentius's death, he was left sole possessor of the empire, A. U. C. 1105 §.

* Polletus Hist. Rom. Flori, lib. i. cap. 3. † Plutarch, in Problem.

‡ Vid. Marlian. Topog. Rom. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 8.

§ Vid. Casaubon, Not. ad Sueton. August. cap. 22.

answered, "Then cast the body where you please, I admit not of mourning," and finished

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DVI.

Of this custom Virgil gives us a noble description :

Third Con-
sulship.

*Sunt geminæ belli portæ sic nomine dicunt,
Religione sacra, & sævi formidine Martis :
Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
Robora ; nec custos absistit limine Janus.
Has ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae ;
Ipse, Quirinali trabem cinctuque Gabino
Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul.
Ipse vocat pugnas *.*

Sacred to Mars two stately gates appear,
Made awful by the dread of arms and war :
An hundred brazen bolts from impious pow'r,
And everlasting bars the dome secure,
And watchful Janus guards his temple door.
Here, when the fathers have ordained to try
The chance of battle by their fix'd decree,
The consul, rich in his Gabinian gown,
And regal pall, leads the procession on ;
The sounding hinges gravely turn about,
Rouse the imprison'd god, and let the furies out.

The superstition of consecrating groves and woods to the honour of the deities, was a practice very usual with the ancients ; for, not to speak of those mentioned in the holy Scripture, Pliny assures us, that trees in old time served for the temples of the gods. Tacitus reports this custom of the old Germans ; Q. Curtius of the Indians, and almost all writers of the old Druids. The Romans too were great admirers of this way of worship, and therefore had their luci in most parts of the city, generally dedicated to some particular deity.

The most probable reason that can be given for this practice is taken from the common opinion, that fear was the main principle of devotion among the ignorant heathens. And therefore such darksome and lonely seats, putting them into a sudden horror and dread, made them

* Virg. Æn. 7.

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DV.

Fourth
Consulship.

the consecration. Thus Poplicola, in the close of his third consulship, received a sensible mortification: and no necessities of state obliging the people to continue him longer in office, Sp. Lartius, and T. Herminius, (who had distinguished themselves in the war with Porsena) were chosen consuls for the next year.

The new consulship proved a year of peace; the only remarkable thing the Romans did was shewing that they were a grateful people. Aruns, the son of Porsena, being an amiable youth, his father was desirous to have him gain some glory before he disbanded his troops, and therefore gave him the command of them, while he himself returned to Clusium. The young prince, eager to obtain a first victory, fell furiously upon the Aricians*, and routed them, but he was afterwards defeated by a stratagem of the Cumans†, their allies, commanded by more experienced officers. He lost his life; and his scattered troops took refuge in the villages about Rome. The consuls invited them to the city, sent carriages for the wounded, made provision for their cure at the public expense, and allotted a quarter in the city for those of them who were willing to settle in it. It was afterwards called the Tuscan or Hetrurian street.

D. Hal. p.
304.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 14.

* In Latium.

† From
Campania.

fancy that there must necessarily something of divinity inhabit there, which could produce in them such an awe and reverence at their entrance. Kenn. *ibid.*

CHAP. III.

I. *The Romans, in the consulship of M. Valerius, (brother of Poplicola,) and P. Posthumius, make war against the Sabines, and twice defeat them. II. The Sabines unite in a national body against Rome, where Poplicola is chosen consul a fourth time. Appius Claudius leaves the Sabines and comes over to the Romans, with all his followers and dependants. The Sabines are again defeated. III. Poplicola dies. The Sabines upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the consulship of P. Posthumius and Menenius Agrippa, who obtain a signal victory over them. IV. An ovation only is decreed Posthumius, but a triumph to Menenius. V. The Sabines are subdued in the succeeding consulship of Sp. Cassius and Opiter Virginus.*

I. ROME, since the new modelling of her government, being, as we have already seen, utterly destitute of allies, and always apprehensive lest the ill-extinguished fire of the royalist party should break out into a new flame, the Sabines, who knew her weak condition, thought this a favourable opportunity to put it out of the power of that imperious city to give law any more to her neighbours. They began the war by incursions and depredations on the Roman lands. M. Valerius (brother of Poplicola) and P. Posthumius were now consuls; and before they would have recourse to arms, they sent envoys in an amicable way to demand satisfaction of the Sabines for the injuries the republic had suffered; but receiving only a contemptuous answer, they both took the field. The Roman forces were divided into two bodies. Posthumius with one of them en-

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CCXLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
DIV.

Fifth Con-
sulship.

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 305,
306, 307.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 16.

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R O M E
CCXLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
DIV.

~~~~~  
Fifth Con-  
sulship.

camped near Rome, to prevent a surprise from the Tarquins, who had many friends in the city. Valerius, with the other, posted himself at Tibur upon the Anio, the enemy being encamped on the opposite shore. That part of the river, near which they lay, being by an accident found fordable, Valerius made all his troops pass, and drew them up in battalia on the same side with the enemy. A general engagement quickly ensued. Valerius, assisted by the counsels of his brother, gained some advantage with his right wing, but his left lost ground; it was almost pushed into the river, when Posthumius having notice of the action, came seasonably to the relief of the Romans, charged the enemy in flank, and recovered the day. The Sabine troops would have been entirely cut off, or made prisoners, if the night coming on had not given them an opportunity to escape. They left their camp to be plundered, and in separate parties returned home. This was the first considerable advantage Rome gained over her enemies after she became a republic, and it revived the old Roman confidence. The two generals were decreed a triumph; but they both entered Rome in the same chariot. As a further reward for Valerius, (who is said by Plutarch to have gained in this same year a second victory over the Sabines, in which he slew thirteen thousand of them without the loss of one Roman,) the republic built him a house, the door opening outwards to the street; whereas the doors of all other houses opened inwards. The

Plut. Popl.  
p. 107.


Plin. B.  
36. c. 15.

design of this distinction was not only to do him honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the public for his house. As for Posthumius, he was honoured with a privilege, never before granted to any, which was, to have a burial-place for himself and his family, within the walls of Rome. Thus did the first Romans keep up an emulation among their generals, rather by distinguishing marks of honour, than substantial rewards. They did not heap wealth upon them, but taught them to prefer the glory, which attends great actions, to exorbitant riches, which often give umbrage, and are always odious in a republic.

II. THE Sabines, the next year, having formed the design of uniting in a national body against Rome, and of engaging the Latines to assist them, the Romans thought it advisable to choose Poplicola consul a fourth time, and they once more joined T. Lucretius with him. But it happening at this time, that some women were delivered of monstrous or imperfect births, the people gave way to superstition, and were unwilling to enter upon action, imagining by these presages, that it must prove a fatal year. Upon this, Poplicola caused the Sybil's books to be consulted, and he interpreted the answers in the sense that best suited his purpose; he likewise ordered sacrifices to be offered to Pluto, the festivals and sports to be revived, and in a word, by artful management removed the public fears.

In the mean while, the storm continued to


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CCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
DIII.

  
Sixth Consulship.

Cic. de Leg.  
B. 2.

Plut. Vit.  
Popl. 108.

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R O M E  
CCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
DIII.

  
Sixth Con-  
sulship.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 307.  
Livy, B. 2.  
c. 16.  
Plut. Vit.  
Popl. p. 108.

gather on the side of the Sabines. One of the Tarquins had, by his intrigues, put in motion the turbulent and factious members in their assemblies. Poplicola endeavoured therefore to bear down the interest of the banished king, by negotiation; and he so far succeeded as to gain over Actius Clausus (the most considerable man in Sabinia, and of the greatest talents and merit) to oppose the design of renewing the war. He spoke in all the Sabine diets against it; and his opposition had its due weight. But those who envied him for his wealth and power, took occasion from this proceeding to put a bad construction on the good understanding he had with the Romans; and they spread by degrees such a jealousy and distrust of him through the nation, that at length nothing less was talked of than citing him as a traitor to appear before their great council. Clausus provoked by this unjust treatment, his first thought was to arm his friends and clients, and begin a civil war. No measure could have been more advantageous to Rome: but Poplicola dissuaded him from polluting his hands with the blood of his countrymen: he represented to him, that the most honourable and most effectual way to be revenged upon them, would be to leave them; that a man of his consequence, abilities, and virtues, would soon be missed; and that Rome offered him a retreat and protection both for himself and followers. Clausus remained a while in suspense; but at length chose rather to act a proud than an angry part, and re-

moved to Rome. There he changed his name to Appius Claudius, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city assigned for his friends and followers, amounting to five thousand families; to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with the rights of citizenship. And these donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the suffrages of the people.

The Sabines, enraged at the retreat of Clausus to Rome, deferred no longer to take the field. Their army they divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near Fidenæ, the other shut itself up in that town, which was but five miles from Rome. Poplicola and Lucretius made a like division of the Roman troops, and encamped advantageously near each other. The Romans having no opportunity for stratagems, were eager to engage: but the Sabines durst not come to a battle by daylight. Their general (who is said to have been one of Tarquin's sons) formed a design to attack Poplicola's camp in the dead of the night, while the troops of Fidenæ, light armed, were to march out, and fetching a large compass, come behind, and surprise Lucretius's camp, as soon as he should leave it to go to the succour of his colleague; and then those same troops were to charge Lucretius in the rear, or at least terrify him by their shouts. Poplicola had timely intelligence of these designs, and took proper measures to make them fatal

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R O M E  
CCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
DIII.

  
Sixth Con-  
sulship.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 308,  
309.

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R O M E  
CCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
DIII.

Sixth Con-  
sulship.

to the enemy. He gave Lucretius notice of the intended night-expedition; and it was agreed between them to shew no marks of suspecting the enemy's intention; in the beginning of the night all fires were put out in both the Roman camps. The Sabines before midnight marched silently towards Poplicola's entrenchments, filled up the ditch with fascines, and passed over to scale the rampart; but as fast as they drew near to it, they were stabbed by the Roman troops, who, unseen, were posted on the outside of it, in the space between it and the ditch. They suffered a great slaughter, before the moon rising discovered their error. Then a fright seized them, they all fled, and the Romans pursued them with loud shouts, which were heard in Lucretius's camp; who immediately detached his horse against those of the enemy, who lay in ambush behind him, while he with his infantry hastened to complete the destruction of those whom Poplicola had routed. In this bloody action thirteen thousand Sabines were killed upon the spot, and four thousand two hundred made prisoners.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 310.

What now remained was to reduce Fidenæ, which had been often subdued, and had as often rebelled. Poplicola undertook to scale the walls in person, on that side where the city was thought most impregnable. Having carried the place by assault, he put to death the heads of the revolt, but spared the rest of the inhabitants, obliging them only to surrender to the garrison, which he placed with

them, a part of their lands for its support. He then returned to Rome, and was honoured with a triumph.

III. **POPPLICOLA** had scarce resigned the fasces into the hands of **P. Posthumius** (now chosen to the consulate a second time) and **Menenius Agrippa**, when he was seized with a distemper, and died, as destitute of the goods of fortune, as full of glory. His chief care had been to transmit his virtues to his children, not to enrich them. Though he had been four times consul, and had enjoyed two triumphs, he left little more to his posterity than a noble model for their imitation: so that he was buried at the public expense, not so much by way of distinction, as on account of his poverty. The Romans erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place: but as the **Valerii** always affected popularity, they never made use of this privilege. The bodies of those who died in Rome were first carried to that sepulchre, but afterwards conveyed without the walls, and there burnt; and the bones were deposited in a tomb without the city. As **Poplicola** had been one of those who stood up in defence of the chastity of the Roman ladies, they went into a year's mourning for him, as they had done before for **Brutus**.

The death of **Poplicola** revived the courage of the **Sabines**; they took the field again that same year, and made so sudden an incursion upon the Roman territory, (which they pillaged

Year of  
R O M E  
CCL.  
Ref. J. C.  
DII.

Seventh  
Consulship.

D. Hal. p.  
314, 315.  
Livy, B. 2.  
c. 16.  
Plut. Popl.  
p. 109.

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 311.

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R O M E  
CCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
DII.

Seventh  
Consulship.

and laid waste,) that one part of their army was advanced to the very gates of Rome, before the Romans had any notice of their approach. Posthumius, the consul, sallying out with a good number of men hastily assembled, and chasing those advanced troops of the enemy to a forest, where the rest of the Sabine forces lay in ambush, was there surprised and defeated, losing many of his Romans, and narrowly escaping himself. He took refuge with the remains of the rout on the top of a steep hill, where he passed the night, invested by the enemy. But the next day his colleague Menenius coming to his relief with the best part of the Roman youth, the Sabines retired. Nevertheless the advantage they had gained raised their confidence to such a height, that they sent a summons, requiring the Romans to receive the Tarquins, and submit to be governed by their conquerors. They were answered, that Rome commanded the Sabines to lay down their arms, and return to their duty; and that when they had made their submission they should come and ask pardon for their irruptions into her territory, if they expected any indulgence, or had no mind to see the war speedily carried into the heart of their country.

These mutual bravadoes were followed by a serious war, in which both nations brought all their strength into the field, and encamped near Eretum, a Sabine city about ten miles from Rome. In the battle which ensued Menenius commanded the right wing, and Post-

D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 312.

p. 313.

humiliatus the left. The latter, to repair his honour, threw himself, like a man in despair, among the thickest of the enemy, and did prodigious acts of valour; and, as Menenius likewise, urged by his example, exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, the Romans, animated by two such leaders, obtained a complete victory.

IV. BUT notwithstanding the equal bravery of the consuls on this occasion, the senate, having deliberated on the reception to be given them at their return, thought it necessary to make a distinction in their rewards. Posthumius's gallant behaviour in the late action had not sufficiently atoned for his miscarriage, in suffering himself to be surprised in the former. They invented therefore a new kind of triumph, less honourable than that in use: the person rewarded with it was to enter Rome on foot, or at best on horseback, attended only by the senate; his crown was to be of myrtle, and his robe the *prætexta*, or common habit of magistrates: and this imperfect triumph, called *ovatio*<sup>7</sup>, they decreed to

Year of  
R O M E  
CCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
DII.

Seventh  
Consulship.

Licinus  
apud  
D. Hal. p.  
314.  
Pliny, B.  
15. c. 29.

<sup>7</sup> The ovation some fancy to have derived its name from shouting *Evan!* or *Evœ!* to Bacchus; but the true original is *ovis*, the sheep, which was usually offered in this procession, as an ox in the triumph. The show generally began at the Albanian mountain, whence the general, with his retinue, made his entry into the city: he went on foot with many flutes, or pipes, sounding in concert as he passed along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aspect rather raising love and respect than fear. A. Gellius informs us, that this honour was then conferred

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLL.  
Bef. J. C.  
DL.

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Eighth Con-
sulship.

D. Hal. p.
315.

Posthumius. The modest consul accepted of it, and entered Rome two days before his colleague, who was honoured with a complete triumph in all its magnificence and pomp.

V. SPURIUS Cassius and Opiter Virginus, the succeeding consuls, divided the Roman forces between them; and Cassius had commission to give the Sabines the finishing blow. He defeated them in a pitched battle in the heart of their country, slew ten thousand three hundred, and took four thousand prisoners; after which they humbly sued for peace, and were forced to purchase it with corn, money, and a part of their lands.

p. 316.

In the mean time Virginus marched with his army and surprised Camerium, a town of Latium which had revolted from the Romans.

on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken against a lawful enemy, and on a just account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconsiderable*. But Plutarch has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the ovation and the triumph was not taken from the greatness of the achievements, but from the manner of performing them: for they who having fought a set battle, and slain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel procession of the triumph. But those who without force, by benevolence and civil behaviour, had done the business, and prevented the shedding of human blood, to these commanders custom gave the honour of this peaceable ovation. For a pipe is the ensign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of Venus, who beyond any of the other deities, has an extreme aversion to violence and war†. Ken. Antiq. Part II. B. 4. c. 16.

* Noct. Att. lib. 5. cap. 6.

† Plut. in Marcell.


Having beat down the wall with his battering
^srams, he took the place by assault, beheaded

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 R O M E
 CCLI.
 Bef. J. C.
 DI.

^s The battering ram was a great wooden beam, bound about with iron at the end, or armed with a head of iron, representing that of a ram. The ancients used it, to beat down the walls of a city. Vitruvius ascribes the invention of the battering ram to the Carthaginians. They made use, says he, of this sort of battery at the siege of Cadiz. At first, it was only a mere beam, or kind of lever, which the besiegers drove against the walls, with repeated blows, by strength of arm. Pephasmenos, a carpenter of Tyre, taking the hint from the first trial which was made of this machine, fixed up a mast of a ship, to which he hung cross-ways, by cables and iron chains, a huge piece of timber. This heavy, unwieldy mass, poised and pushed with violence, threw down the walls of the city besieged. After this manner, as Josephus tells us, B. 3. the Romans set their ram against Jerusalem. To guard the machine, and those who worked it, from the attacks of the enemy, Cetras of Chalcedon was the first who made a sort of pent-house, or gallery, covered over with skins soaked in water, to preserve it from fire. It went upon wheels, that the ram, which was hung up within, upon one or two rafters, might be brought forward with greater ease. This was afterwards called the ram-tortoise, either because its motion was slow, according to Vitruvius; or, as Vegetius has observed, because the machine resembled the figure of a tortoise, who puts his head out of his shell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the head of the ram moved out and in, as there was occasion. Above the tortoise, there was sometimes raised a sentry-box, in the form of a turret, where two soldiers were posted, to observe the motions of the besieged. Vitruvius assures us, that Polydus of Thessaly perfected the tortoise at the siege which Philip of Macedon, son of Amyntas, laid to Byzantium. The make and disposition of the machine was in this manner. He made a covered gallery, thirty cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the roof, which itself was seven from the platform to the ridge. Over the roof he raised a little tower, at least twelve cubits wide. It contained four

Eighth Consulship.

Year of
R O M E
CCLI.
Bef. J. C.
DL.


Eighth Con-
sulship.

the most guilty of the inhabitants, sold the rest, and razed the city.

stories, in the uppermost of which were put the scorpions, and the catapults. In the lower stories was placed a great quantity of water, to extinguish the fire which might be thrown from the top of the ramparts. Vitruvius makes the length of the ram a hundred and six feet; Plutarch, eighty only. The ram-tortoise is described in these verses of Propertius :

*Dumque aries cornu murum pulsabat ahenò
Vineaue inductum longa tegebat opus. l. 4.*

Vitruvius, Vegetius, and Justus Lipsius have expatiated upon the different forms of this ancient engine of war; but they all amount to the same thing. Those which are here represented, will enable the reader to form a judgment of the rest. C. & R.

CHAP. IV.

I. The Latines declare for king Tarquin against the new republic; but, before they take the field, send an embassy to Rome with proposals for an accommodation. II. A conspiracy is there formed by some of Tarquin's emissaries, who accompany the Latine ambassadors. The plot is discovered and prevented, and the ambassadors dismissed with a refusal of their demands. III. The Latines dispatch a second embassy to Rome with offers of peace, upon new conditions; these are also rejected by the senate. The Romans prepare for war: but when the consuls would make the necessary levies, the poorer citizens refuse to serve. IV. The cruelty of their creditors is the cause of this mutiny. The debtors demand an absolute remission of their debts. Great disputes arise in the senate on this occasion. In so dangerous a situation of affairs they judge it necessary to create a dictator, (a sovereign, uncontrollable magistrate,) and to this they get the people's consent. V. Titus Lartius is appointed to that supreme dignity. The levies for the war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the Latines for a year; during which the Roman women married into Latium, and the Latine women married at Rome, have leave to return to their respective countries. VI. The truce being expired, Posthumius, one of the consuls, is named dictator, and has the sole conduct of the war. He gives the Latines an entire overthrow in the battle of Regillus; after which the whole nation submits. Tarquin, being obliged to quit Latium, retires to Cumæ in Campania, and there, in a few months after, dies.

THE next year, when Posthumius Cominius and T. Lartius were consuls, a very important event gave a new alarm to the rising republic. The Latine nation, which had hitherto stood neuter in the quarrel between Rome and her banished king, came at length

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.
Bef. J. C.
D.
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Ninth Con-  
sulship.  
D. Hal. B.  
5. p. 316.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
D.

~~~~~  
Ninth Con-
sulship.

to a resolution openly to espouse the king's cause. It was Mamilius, Tarquin's son-in-law, who by his pressing instances had brought his countrymen to this determination. M. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, had just been deputed by the Romans to those of the Latine cities that were nearest Rome, to complain of some of their people, who (by secret direction of the chief men among them) had made inroads and depredations in the territory of the republic. Hearing that the Latines were assembled in a national council at Feren-tinum to deliberate on a war with the Romans, Valerius hasted thither, though not invited, and there demanded, as a deputy from Rome, the chief seat in the council ; a right due to him by the treaties subsisting between the two nations. To this it was answered, that those treaties had been shamefully violated by the Romans ; at whose instigation, as the deputies from Aricia alleged, Porsena's troops had made their attack upon the Aricians, in which his son Aruns was slain. Some exiles also from Fidenæ and Camerium complained loudly of the cruelty of the Romans. And it was farther added by the partisans of Tarquin, that the Latine confederacy having been concluded with the king, and not with the republic of Rome, the latter could claim no benefit from that transaction. The deputies, however, came to no determination that day ; it was wholly spent in accusations and replies : but the very day following, when they met again, they refused to admit Valerius into their assembly ;

D. Hal. B.
5. p. 317.

and it was signified to him, that the Latines, thinking themselves, in many instances, greatly injured by the Romans, had resolved to consider at leisure of proper revenge.

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.
Bef. J. C.
D.

Ninth Consulship.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 18.
D. Hal. p.
317.

It was at this time, and upon the news of the danger that threatened Rome from the Latines, that (according to Livy) the senate first thought of creating a dictator; though they did not put that project in execution till a more difficult conjuncture. During the present alarm from abroad, they happily discovered a conspiracy formed at home by a number of slaves, who had combined together to seize the capitol, and set fire to the city in several quarters at the same time. The offenders were all crucified.

Year of
R O M E
CCLIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
nine-
ty-nine.

Tenth Consulship.

D. Hal. p.
318.

In the following consulship of Serv. Sulpitius and Manius Tullius, the Tarquins, in concert with some of the inhabitants of Fidenæ, found means to possess themselves of that city by surprise. Though the Roman senate had good reason to suspect that many of the chiefs of Latium were concerned in this affair, yet were they in no haste to declare war against the Latine people, being well assured that the lower order of men among them were not in the same dispositions with the nobles, but rather averse from any rupture with Rome. But as to the Fidenates, the consul Manius marching with a numerous army, closely invested their city, and reduced them to great extremities. The besieged, in their distress, implored the assistance of the Latines; and

Year of
R O M E
CCLIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-nine.

Tenth Con-
sulship.

this occasioned a new meeting of the deputies from the several cities of Latium.

Here the question was debated, whether a war should be absolutely declared against Rome in favour of Fidenæ and the Tarquins, or whether the Latines should adhere to the ancient treaties between the two states. Those of the council who hoped for great employments in case of a rupture were very warm for this side of the question, but the richest and the moderate men of the assembly were of the contrary sentiment, and this was also the most agreeable to the nation in general. The first however so far prevailed, as to obtain a decree, that an embassy should be sent to the Romans to exhort them to raise the siege of Fidenæ, and recall their banished king, who on that condition was to engage by oath to grant a general amnesty; the ambassadors were to allow the Romans a year to consider of these overtures, and to threaten them with a war in case of non-compliance.

The party who carried this point in the assembly very well knew that the republic would never listen to such proposals; but they were willing to have some plausible pretext for a breach, as also time to make due preparations for war; and they likewise hoped, that before the year was expired they should find means to gain over to them those of their countrymen who now opposed their measures.

II. IN the mean time, Tarquin and his sons seeing how averse the people of Latium were

from a war with the Romans, and having little hopes of any advantage from the embassy proposed, turned their thoughts to a more promising scheme. In the train of the Latine ambassadors they sent to Rome some emissaries of their own, who by the help of large sums of money were to kindle an intestine war in the city. It was believed, and with good reason, that two sorts of men would be there found very ready to enter into this design; the slaves, and the meaner citizens overwhelmed with debt. The first knew themselves mistrusted by their masters, and wanted only an opportunity to revenge the severe treatment which their fellows had lately suffered; and as for the poor debtors, the cruel usage they daily received from their creditors made them easily believe there could be no change in the government but to their advantage. Tarquin's agents having secretly engaged a multitude of these unhappy men of both sorts to attempt a revolution, the parts they gave them to act were these: the poor citizens were at an appointed hour to possess themselves of the ramparts and gates of the city, and then to raise a great shout, which was to be the signal for the slaves who lay round their masters to rise and massacre them: the gates of the city were then to be opened, and the exiles were to enter Rome while it was yet streaming with the blood of the senators.

It is almost incredible that of so great a number of vile and mercenary wretches, not one should be tempted by the prospect of rich

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rewards to betray the secret. Dionysius ascribes the preservation of Rome to a particular providence of God, who had taken this city under his protection. He tells us, that Tarquin's two principal agents, Publius and Marcus (both of his own name and family) were so terrified with nightly visions and frightful dreams, that they durst not proceed in their design, till they had consulted a diviner; that having asked him in general terms whether it was a proper time to execute a project they had formed, he advised them by all means to lay aside their project, whatever it was, for that otherwise it would assuredly prove fatal to them; and that upon this, they fearing to be prevented by some of the other conspirators, went straight to Sulpitius, the only consul then at Rome, and discovered the whole matter to him. Sulpitius commended them highly, promised them ample recompense, and detained them in his own house, without imparting the secret to any body. Instantly he assembled the senate, when the first thing done was to call in the Latine ambassadors and give them their audience of leave, with an answer to their proposals. The answer was very short. The consul addressing them by the appellations of friends and kinsmen, told them the surprise the senate were under, that the Latines, who had been witnesses of the constancy of the Roman people when attacked by all the forces of Porsena, should threaten them with a war, unless they would submit to tyrants, and raise the siege of Fidenæ: and he concluded with a

sort of defiance. The ambassadors being thus dismissed, were conducted out of the city.

Then Sulpitius laid open to the fathers the horrible conspiracy of which he had just got information. The truth of the fact seemed not to admit of a dispute; the only question was in what manner to apprehend and punish the guilty; and this was a nice point. To take the conspirators by force from their families and carry them to execution might raise a flame in every quarter of the city, and be attended with fatal consequences: nor was it by any means expedient to cite them in legal form before the judges; because should the accused be obstinate in denying the fact, the evidence of the two informers, who were the only witnesses, might be thought insufficient for a capital conviction of Roman citizens. Sulpitius therefore, to whom the senate left the whole conduct of this critical affair, took a method which he thought would equally serve to prove the guilt, and secure the punishment. He directed the senators to get together their friends and clients, and upon a signal to be given, to seize all the strong places of the city, each senator in that quarter where he lived. The Roman knights also were commanded to hold themselves ready in the houses adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they should receive. And lest, upon the apprehending of the criminals, their relations or friends should raise a sedition, and occasion a bloody conflict between fellow citizens, he sent to his colleague, who was besieging Fidenæ, to come

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away as soon as it was dark, with a chosen body of his troops, and post them near the ramparts of Rome. These precautions taken, the two informers, by the consul's direction, gave notice to the most active and leading men of the conspiracy to meet them exactly at midnight in the forum, under pretence of settling the last measures for the execution of their enterprise. Every thing succeeded according to the consul's scheme. The conspirators met at the time and place appointed; the senators, upon receiving the signal, possessed themselves of the strongest posts in all parts of the city; the knights invested the forum so closely blocking up all the avenues of it, that nobody could possibly escape from thence; and at the same time the consul Manius being arrived from before Fidenæ, drew up his troops in the Campus Martius. The next morning, as soon as it was light, both the consuls, strongly guarded, appeared upon their tribunal, and having convened the people, discovered to them the conspiracy which had been formed against the common liberty, and produced the witnesses. Leave was given to the accused to make their defence, if they had any thing to say against the evidence; but not one of them had the boldness to deny the fact. Hereupon the consuls instantly repaired to the senate, whence they soon after returned, bringing with them a decree of the fathers, whereby the right of citizenship was granted to the two informers, together with a large pecuniary reward; and the con-

spirators were condemned to death, in case the people approved it. This decree being confirmed by the assembly, the multitude were then ordered to retire, and the criminals were delivered up to the soldiers and put to the sword. And now as the peace of Rome was thought sufficiently secured by this stroke of severity, the consuls would receive no accusation against any other accomplices of the treason, but published an amnesty for all those who had escaped punishment. They also ordered that the Romans should purify themselves by expiations, because they had been constrained to dip their hands in the blood of their countrymen; after which they appointed sacrifices in thanksgiving to the gods, and three festival days for the celebration of public games. A melancholy accident disturbed the general joy on this occasion; the consul Manius fell from his chariot in the middle of the circus, and was so grievously hurt that he died a few days after. As the year was near expiring, Sulpitius remained sole consul to the end of it, the Romans not thinking it worth while to choose him a new colleague.

III. FIDENÆ continued to be invested, but was not taken during the following consulship of T. Æbutius and P. Veturius. But the next year, when T. Lartius and Q. Clælius were raised to that dignity, the former having the conduct of the siege, carried on the attacks with so much skill and vigour, that he at length forced the Fidenates to surrender at discretion.

The reduction of Fidenæ struck a terror

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D. Hal. p.
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into the Latines, who had neglected to succour it as they might, and now repented of that neglect. Tarquin, Mamilius, and the Aricians seized the opportunity furnished by their present fears, to unite them against the Roman republic. The deputies from the Latine cities⁹ being assembled at Ferentinum, entered into a confederacy, and bound themselves by oaths never to violate their engagements. However, before they began hostilities, they judged it proper to send to Rome a second embassy, consisting of some of the principal men of each city in the alliance. These being admitted to an audience of the senate, complained of the injustice of the Romans, who, they said, had formerly put the Heturians upon attacking Aricia; and they added, that the only way for the republic to avoid the war which threatened her from the Latines, was to submit her quarrel with the Aricians to the decision of the Latine council. Though the fathers had never been in greater perplexity than at this time, because of the vastly superior strength of the Latine nation, yet they haughtily rejected the proposal; and the war being now looked upon as unavoidable, they

⁹ Livy only says, that thirty cities of Latium were in the confederacy against Rome. But D. H. gives us a list of them, by which it appears, that they were not all cities of the Latines: Ardea, Aricia, Bovilla, Bubentum, Cora, Corventum, Circæum, Corioli, Corbintum, Cabanum, Fortinæum, Gabii, Laurentium, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Lavicum, Nomentum, Norba, Præneste, Pedum, Corcotulum or Querquetulum, Satricum, Scapeia, Setia, Tellenium, Tibur or Tivoli, Tusculum, Toleria, Tricrinum and Velitræ.

turned their thoughts wholly to fortify themselves by alliances, and get assistance from their neighbours. To this end they sent about to the several states with which they were surrounded; but their negotiations proved every where unsuccessful; the Hernici required time to examine the rights of the two parties; the Rutuli declared for the Latines; the Volsci insulted the Roman ambassadors; and as for the Hebrurians, they resolved to stand neuter for a while, and then choose their side, as the events of the war should guide them. These disappointments, how great soever, did not discourage the senate; but what was worse than all these, the republic had in her own bosom rebellious children, who refused to lend their aid for the defence of their country.

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IV. IN order to a right understanding of the true source of this intestine evil, it will be necessary to call to mind some particulars in the manners, customs, and policy of the Romans, during these early ages of the state.

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5. p. 328.

* Of all the means which the necessities of nature have put men upon inventing for subsistence, the Romans practised only tillage and war. They lived upon their own harvests,

M. l'Abbé
Vertot.

* N. B. In what follows in the text, to the year of Rome 371, frequent use has been made of Monsieur Vertot's History of the Revolutions which happened in the Government of the Roman Commonwealth. Care, however, has been taken to avoid many things, in that work, which were found to be the pure product of his imagination, as also many errors or misrepresentations; and to make such additions to his accounts as were necessary to the nature of this more general history of Rome.

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or upon those which they reaped sword in hand in the territories of their enemies. All the mechanic arts, not subservient to these two professions, were unknown at Rome, or left to slaves and strangers. The Romans, generally speaking, from the senator to the meanest plebeian, were all husbandmen, and the husbandmen all soldiers: and we shall see in the course of this history, that some of their most renowned captains were called from the plough to command their armies. The very greatest men in the republic inured their children to a hard and laborious way of life, to make them the more robust, and the more capable of sustaining the fatigues of war.

This domestic discipline had its rise from the poverty of the first Romans: they afterwards made a virtue of what was the mere effect of necessity; and men of noble minds considered this equal poverty of all the citizens, as the means to preserve their liberty from usurpation. Each citizen had at first, for his subsistence, but two acres of land. Rome afterwards extended her territory by acquisitions from her neighbours. The Romans usually sold one moiety of the lands they conquered, to reimburse the state for the charges of the war, and added to the public domain the other moiety, which was afterwards either given or let at a small rent to the poorer sort: such was the ancient custom of Rome, under her kings. But, after the extinction of the regal power, the nobles and patricians, who looked upon themselves to be the only so-

D. Hal. &
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vereigns of the republic, did, under various pretences, appropriate to themselves the best part of those conquered lands, if they lay near their own estates, or were any other ways convenient for them; thus insensibly enlarging their own revenues to the diminution of those of the republic: or else, under borrowed names, they caused those portions which were allotted for the subsistence of the poor citizens to be adjudged to themselves at inconsiderable rates. They afterwards laid them to their other lands, without distinction; and a few years possession and their own great power covered these usurpations. The state lost its revenue; and the soldier, who had spent his blood to enlarge the bounds of the republic, saw himself deprived of the small portion of land that ought to have been at once his pay and his reward.

The covetousness of some patricians was not confined to these usurpations only: but when the harvest fell short by the badness of the year, or by the irruptions of enemies, they knew how, by an ill-meant relief, to make themselves a title to their neighbour's field. The soldier, being then entirely destitute, for he had no pay, was forced, for his subsistence, to have recourse to the rich. They lent him no money but at usury; which, in those days, if we may believe Tacitus, was arbitrary. The debtor must engage his small estate; and the cruel assistance he received often cost him his liberty; for the laws allowed the creditor, upon default of payment, to seize his debtor, carry him to his own house, and there treat

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him like a slave. Both principal and interest were often exacted with stripes and torment; his land was taken from him by accumulated usury; and, under pretence of the observation of the laws and strict justice, the people daily suffered the utmost wrong.

A government so severe, in a new republic, quickly raised a general discontent. Those of the plebeians who were oppressed with debts, and afraid of being arrested by their creditors, applying themselves to their patrons and the most disinterested among the senators, represented to them their extreme want, the difficulty they had to bring up their children, and how hard a case it was, that after fighting successfully against the Tarquins in defence of the public liberty, they should be exposed to become the slaves of their fellow-citizens.

These complaints were followed by secret menaces; and the plebeians, finding no redress of their grievances, at length broke out into open sedition, under the consulate of T. Lartius and Q. Clælius, on occasion of the powerful confederacy formed against the commonwealth, by the Latines and their allies. As Rome had no soldiers but her own citizens, it was necessary to make the people take arms; but the poorer sort, and especially such as were plunged in debt, declared, that it was the business of those who enjoyed the dignities and riches of the republic to defend it; that, for their own parts, they were weary of exposing their lives every day for masters so cruel and insatiable. Accordingly they refused to

give their names¹ in, to be listed for the service. The hottest of them said boldly, that they

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¹ It was the province of the consuls to direct the levying of men for the war. The two consular armies, generally speaking, consisted at this time of four legions, each containing at least four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The manner of making the levies was as follows :

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After the consuls had chosen twenty-four tribunes, (or colonels,) fourteen from among the Roman knights, and ten from among the plebeian families, six of these tribunes were appointed to every legion, to command and lead it : and it was the business of all the tribunes to choose their soldiers in the following manner : every tribe of the Roman people was brought into the area before the capitol, one tribe after another, according to the order in which it was their lot to be summoned. The first tribe called was divided according to the order of the classes, regard being had to their superiority, i. e. their riches. After this, four persons, who were of age to serve, were called out of these classes ; and the tribunes of each legion chose one of the four into their legion. The tribunes of the first legion chose the first man, the tribunes of the second legion the second man, and so on. When these four were thus distributed, four others were called ; and then the tribunes of the second legion had their turn of choosing the first man : so that the tribunes of each legion had the first choice, one after another, according to the order of their legion ; and every legion was very near equally furnished with good men. After a certain number of soldiers were chosen out of one tribe, another was called in ; and the same number was chosen out of that, in the same manner, till the legions were sufficiently full.

Here we must observe, that the Roman knights, as being higher in rank, came sooner to the tribuneship than the plebeians. But neither of them could be chosen legionary tribunes, till they had served half of the time the laws prescribed them. Thus the knights who were obliged to ten years service might be promoted to the tribuneship after five campaigns, whereas the plebeians could

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were no more tied to their native country, where not an inch of land was left them in property, than to any other country though never so remote; that at least there they should have no debts to pay; that the only way to free themselves from the tyranny of their creditors was to leave Rome: and they loudly threatened to abandon the city, unless all debts were abolished by a *senatus-consultum*.

The senators, much disturbed at a disobedience so little different from a barefaced rebellion, immediately assembled: various opinions were given. M. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, and who after his example affected popularity, represented to the fathers, that most of the poor plebeians had been forced to contract debts only by the misfortunes of war; that if in such a conjuncture as this, when a great part of Italy had espoused the cause of Tarquin, they did not redress the grievances of the people, it was to be feared, despair might drive them into the tyrant's party; and the senate, by stretching their authority too far, might lose it all in the re-establishment of the royalty. Several of the senators, and especially those who had no debtors, declared themselves of the same opinion; but it was rejected with indignation by the rich usurers. Appius Claudius also opposed it, but from different motives. Austere in his manners, and a se-

not come to it till after ten years service in the army, because they were obliged to serve twenty complete. The latter were called *seniores tribuni*; and the former, *juniores tribuni*. C. & R.

vere observer of the laws, he maintained that no alteration could be made in these, without endangering the republic. Though he commiserated the condition of the poor, (many of whom were daily relieved by his bounty,) he nevertheless declared in full senate, that they could not with justice refuse the authority of the laws to such creditors as would prosecute their debtors with rigour; that justice was the surest support of a state; that there was no abolishing the debts of particular persons without ruining the public faith, the only bond of society; that the people themselves, in whose favour this unjust decree was proposed, would be the first sufferers by it; that in any new necessity they would get no succour from the rich; that the discontent of the great was no less to be feared than that of the people, and that perhaps the former would not easily bear to be stript of that wealth, which had been left them by their ancestors, or was the fruit of their own temperance and economy. He added, that Rome, at the beginning, assigned no greater portions of land to the patricians than to the plebeians; that these latter had but lately shared the estate of the Tarquins; that they had often got considerable booty in war, and that if they had squandered it all away in extravagant living, there was no reason why they should be reimbursed at the expense of those who had lived with more prudence and good management: that it should be further considered, that those of the mutineers who made the most noise were plebeians of

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the very lowest classes, and who in battle were usually placed only in the wings or in the rear of the legions; that most of them were armed with nothing but slings; that there was neither great service to be expected nor great danger to be feared from such soldiers; that the republic, in losing them, would suffer but a very inconsiderable loss; and that to despise the sedition was sufficient to quell it, and make the authors of it submit themselves to the clemency of the senate.

Some of the fathers who were for finding a medium between two opinions so extremely opposite, proposed, that, without cancelling the debts, they should take away the creditors' power over the persons of their debtors. Others were for remitting the debts of those only who were notoriously unable to pay. Some again, to save the public faith, and at the same time satisfy the creditors, proposed to pay them out of the public treasury. And lastly, it was the judgment of others, that such of the citizens as had been ² sold, or were

D. Hal. p.
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² When the debtor was insolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to sell him as a slave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain number of summonses, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to give him time to raise the sum for which he was accountable. These are the words of the law: *Æris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis triginta dies justi sunt. Post dein manumendo jacito—Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus.*—After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not discharged the debt, he was led to the prætor, who delivered him up to the mercy of his creditors. These bound him and kept him in chains, for the space of sixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days successively,

in danger of being sold, to satisfy their debts, should be redeemed from slavery, by giving the creditors other slaves in their room.

The senate adopted none of these schemes; but in order to pacify the people, and engage them to take arms in defence of the state, they decreed a suspension of all prosecutions for debt till the end of the war.

This condescension of the fathers was owing to the fear of the foreign enemy. But a great many of the plebeians, grown bolder for the same reason, declared that they would either have an absolute remission of all debts, or leave it to the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a city, in whose safety

this debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor. Then a public crier proclaimed, in the forum, the debt for which the prisoner was detained. Oftentimes there were found rich persons who redeemed the prisoners, by paying their debts. But if nobody appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to sell him, or to imprison and make him a slave in his own house; which was called coercion. Such imprisoned slaves were styled nexi, and not servi, because their slavery lasted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public imprisonments, which was a less rigorous punishment than the slavery the debtors underwent in their creditors' houses. —Cat. & Rouil.

It has been thought, that, by one of the decemviral laws expressed in these terms, *Si plures sint, quibus reus sit addictus, tertius undecimis partes secanto; si plus minusve secuerint, sine fraude esto*, if an insolvent debtor had several creditors, they could cut his body into as many parts, and so share him among them. But it is not probable that the law had any such meaning. Doubtless by cutting or dividing the debtor, we ought to understand dividing the price of his body sold. Bynkershoek. L. 1. C. 1.

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they thought themselves no longer concerned, and which indeed they were ready to leave. The number of the mal-contents increased daily; for, among the people, many who had no debts of their own could not help complaining of the severity of the senate, either through compassion for the debts of their own order, or out of that secret aversion which every man naturally has to behold, in others, a spirit of domination.

Though the richest of the plebeians, and especially the clients of the nobles, had no part in the sedition; yet the separation which the mal-contents threatened, and their obstinate refusal of taking arms, were of dangerous example, especially at a time when the republic was going to be attacked by the greater part of the Latine forces, commanded by the sons and son-in-law of Tarquin. The senate might indeed have prosecuted the most active in the mutiny; but then the Lex Valeria, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a shelter for the guilty, who were sure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their sedition. To elude the effect of a privilege that put such a restraint upon their power, the fathers resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of dictator³, should be equally above the senate and assembly of the people, and be invested with absolute authority. And in order to obtain

D. Hal. p.
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³ This magistrate was also called *magister populi* and *prætor maximus*.

the people's consent, it was represented to them in a public assembly, that in so difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and the enemy to repulse at the same time, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be arbiter of the laws, and as it were the father of his country: that, nevertheless, lest he should abuse his uncontrollable authority, by making himself a tyrant, they ought not to trust him with it above six months.

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V. THE people⁴ not foreseeing the consequences of this change, agreed to it; and then the only thing that remained, was to pitch upon a man duly qualified for so great and important a trust. Titus Lartius, one of the present consuls, appeared to the senate to be of all men the most unexceptionable; yet they were unwilling to offend his colleague by an invidious preference. The expedient they fell upon was to give the two consuls the power of naming the new magistrate, but with this limitation, that he should be one of the two, not doubting but Clælius would readily yield to the superior talents of Lartius. Nor were they disappointed in this expectation. But

D. Hal. p.
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⁴ It seems not improbable that the people were induced to consent to this change, partly from the flattering hopes which persons in distress usually conceive from all unexperienced changes in the government; and partly from the knowledge their leaders had of the temper and character of the person destined to the high office in question: for we shall find that Lartius was a friend to the poor plebeians.

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D. Hal. p.
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Ibid.

Livy, B. 2.
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then Lartius, no way behind his colleague in modesty or generosity, with the same readiness remitted the high honour in question to him; and a contest arose between them, which of the two should advance the other to sovereign authority. The dispute did not end the first day; but the day following, when the senate met again upon this weighty affair, Clælius finding that he could no otherways prevail, started up on a sudden, and after the manner of an interrex proclaimed⁵ Titus Lartius dictator, instantly abdicated the consulship, and descended from the tribunal.

This new kind of government erected at Rome might be called an absolute monarchy in a republic, though not durable. The moment the dictator was named, he had power of life and death over all the citizens of every degree, and without any appeal⁶. The authority and the functions of all other magistrates ceased, or were subordinate to his. He had the naming of the general of the horse,

⁵ It became the custom for this magistrate to be chosen only in the night *viva voce*, by one of the consuls: and this choice was to be confirmed by the divination from birds. His power was confined in two other respects beside that of time. He was not allowed to march out of Italy, lest he should take advantage of the distance of the place to attempt something against the common liberty; and he was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious or sudden expedition, and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride.

⁶ This was doubtless the intention of the senate at the time when a dictator was first created: but we shall hereafter find an appeal from the sentence of a dictator to the assembly of the people.

who served as his lieutenant-general, and was wholly at his command. Twenty-four lictors, armed with axes, (as those of the kings had used to be,) attended him. He might raise troops or disband them at his pleasure. Whenever war was declared, he commanded the armies, without being obliged to consult either the people or the senate concerning his enterprises; nor, when his authority expired, was he obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his administration.

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tatorship.

T. Lartius being invested with this great dignity, named, without the participation either of senate or people, Spurius Cassius Viscellinus for general of the horse; and in all his proceedings, though he was indeed one of the most moderate of the whole senate, he outwardly affected a stately reserve, and a peremptory manner, to awe the people into their duty. They found that under so resolute a master, who would not fail to make an example of the first that should rebel, submission was the only course they had to take.

D. Hal. p.
338.

All mutiny and murmurings being thus silenced, the dictator commanded a census to be taken of the people, according to the institution of king Servius Tullius; and there appeared to be in Rome one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men who were past the age of puberty. Out of these he formed four armies. The first he allotted to himself, the second to Clælius his late colleague, the third to Cassius his general of the horse; and these three were to take the field against the

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R O M E
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Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-seven.

Twelfth
Consulship.
First Dic-
tatorship.

D. Hal. p.
339.

Latines; the fourth, under the command of the dictator's brother, Spurius Lartius, was to stay in Rome and guard the city.

The Latines were not so forward in their preparations for the war as their menaces had given cause to fear they would be; so that there was little action this campaign. The dictator having intercepted a detachment which they had sent to ravage the Roman territory, treated the prisoners more like allies than enemies. He caused particular care to be had of the wounded, and set all at liberty ransom free. By this humane and skilful conduct, he disposed the Latines to listen the more readily to the overtures which he at the same time made them for a suspension of arms. Notwithstanding all that Tarquin and Mamilius could do to hinder it, a truce was soon after agreed to for a year. And then Lartius, seeing the republic in tranquillity, resigned the dictatorship, though the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired; and, what is remarkable, no citizen had been punished with death or banishment, or in any manner severely treated during the whole continuance of his uncontrollable power.

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dred nine-
ty-six.

Thirteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
6. p. 341.

The following consulship of Sempronius Atratinus and Minutius Augurinus, produced nothing memorable relating to war or conquest. The senate seem to have been chiefly taken up with a compassionate concern for the Roman women married to Latine husbands. It was feared they might suffer by the rupture between the two nations. A decree therefore

was passed by the fathers, and confirmed by the people, (in consequence doubtless of an agreement made with the Latines,) that the Latine women who were willing to leave Rome and return to Latium, and the Roman women who were willing to come back from Latium to Rome, should have liberty to quit their husbands and return to the respective countries of their nativity; and it was ordered, with regard to their children, that the boys should remain with their fathers, and the girls follow their mothers. How agreeable a place Rome was to wives most remarkably appeared on this occasion. For out of the great number of Latine women who had married Roman husbands, only two went back to Latium; but almost all the Roman women, married to Latines, left their husbands and returned to their native city.

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dred nine-
ty-six.

Thirteenth
Consulship.

VI. THE year of truce with the Latines was expired, when Aulus Posthumius and T. Virginius took possession of the consulship. The nobles of Latium, who were in the interest of Tarquin, carried all before them in the assemblies of the states, contrary to the inclination of the people, many of whom came with their families to Rome, where they were well received. It was necessary therefore to prepare for war; and though there were no dissensions at this time between the senate and people, it was judged proper to put the conduct of it into the hands of a dictator: the consuls had the power given them, as before, to name one of themselves to that dignity; whereupon Virginius, though the elder of the

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dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
6. p. 342.

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Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

D. Hal. B.
p. 343.

*In Latium.

p. 344, 345.

two, readily yielded it to his colleague as the more able commander.

Posthumius having named Æbutius Elva to be his general of the horse, divided the Roman forces, as the former dictator had done, into four bodies; one he commanded himself, put another under the conduct of his late colleague Virginus, the third under Æbutius, and committed the fourth to Sempronius, with the government of the city. News was presently brought, that the Latines had forced the castle of Corbio, a strong hold belonging to the republic, and put the garrison to the sword; and that this small advantage gained by the enemy had determined the Volsci of Antium to join them. Posthumius immediately marched from Rome with eight thousand men, and encamped in the night near the lake Regillus*, upon a steep hill which was inaccessible on every side. Virginus following soon after with his troops, posted them on another hill over against the dictator; the Latine army, which consisted of forty thousand foot and three thousand horse, under the command of Sextus Tarquinius, Titus Tarquinius, and Mamilius, lying between them. As Posthumius had no intention to fight, but only to observe and tire out the enemy, he sent word to Æbutius to march secretly in the night with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, and take possession of a third hill, upon the only road by which provisions could come to the Latines. The general of the horse obeyed his order; but before he could fortify his camp, he was briskly attacked by a body of the enemy under

Sextus Tarquinius, who endeavoured to dislodge him: however, the dictator sending him a timely reinforcement, the Latines were repulsed with loss, and retired. After this Æbutius intercepted two couriers who were carrying letters from the Volsci to the Latine generals, importing that a considerable body of that people would join the Latine forces in three days. Posthumius hereupon drew his three bodies of Romans together; for though they amounted to no more than twenty-three thousand seven hundred foot and one thousand horse, necessity constrained him now to hazard an engagement without delay.

It was the custom for generals to harangue their troops, before they led them to battle; and the dictator may be said to have had at this time the better part of the Roman nation for his auditors. The senate almost to a man were come to serve as volunteers. Indeed there was no way of rising to offices of dignity and power but by long and painful service in the troops; but now even the oldest senators had taken arms in defence of their country. Posthumius in his speech to the soldiers, (after he had put them in mind of the miseries they must expect from the return of the Tarquins, and had encouraged them not to fear the superior numbers of a faithless enemy whom their fathers had so often vanquished) took particular notice of this, that in the present exigence, “the most ancient and venerable had covered their grey hairs with the helmet.” He added: “And shall the young, the healthy and strong, be unactive and fearful? Shall

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dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

Year of
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Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

they be so shameless to turn their backs upon the enemy, when the old and the infirm are resolved either to conquer or die? I declare that whoever shall this day be guilty of so base a cowardice shall be put to death by my order, and his dead carcase deprived of the rites of burial: but he that shall bring me witnesses of his having signalized his courage in the battle, shall, beside the usual honours decreed to men of distinguished bravery, receive from the public an estate in land, as an additional recompense of his merit."

Livy, B. 2.
c. 19.

Having thus spoken, the dictator drew up his army in order of battle; and the Latines, depending on their numbers, and beginning to want provisions, did not decline the fight. Titus Tarquinius was in the centre of their army at the head of the exiles and deserters from Rome; Mamilius⁷ commanded the right wing, and Sextus Tarquinius the left. In the Roman army the dictator led the main body, Æbutius the left wing, and Virginus the right.

In this battle, which proved very obstinate and bloody, the generals of the two armies did not confine themselves to giving orders, but exposed their persons in the hottest of the conflict, and mutually charged one another. Titus⁸ Tarquinius, coming out from the cen-

⁷ Dionysius leaves it uncertain whether this Mamilius was the son-in-law of Tarquin the Proud, or the son of that son-in-law.

⁸ Livy (B. 2. c. 19.) makes king Tarquin himself to be the person who attacked Posthumius; which is very strange, considering, that he supposes him to be the son of Tarquinius Priscus. See Remarks on the Hist. of the Rom. Kings, article Tarquinius Priscus.

tre of the Latines, ran full speed at the dictator Posthumius to encounter him singly; but receiving a wound in his right side, fell from his horse, and was carried by his own men out of the field. The battalions of the main body having now lost their leader, (who was mortally wounded,) made but a faint resistance, when pressed by the troops of the dictator. They were already losing ground and beginning to break, when Sextus Tarquinius coming up with the choice of the Latine cavalry and supported by the exiles, took the place of his brother. Encouraged by the presence and valour of this new commander, the disheartened Latines recovered their ranks, renewed the fight, and made the success of the day in the centre doubtful.

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ninety-five.
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D. Hal. p.
349.

In the wings where Mamilius and Æbutius commanded, the fury of the battle was equal. After a long and bloody conflict, the two commanders defied each other to single combat; Æbutius with his lance wounded Mamilius in the breast through his cuirass; and Mamilius ran his sword through Æbutius's right arm. Neither of the wounds was mortal, but both generals fell from their horses and were carried out of the throng. Æbutius's place was then supplied by his lieutenant Marcus Valerius (the brother of Poplicola). He put himself at the head of the Roman horse, and with them endeavoured to break the enemy's battalions; but the cavalry of the Roman royalists, advancing to their succour, quickly repulsed the cavalry of the republic;

Livy, B. 2.
c. 19.

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Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 20.
D. Hal. p.
350.

and Mamilius, not disabled by the hurt he had received, appeared again in the van with a considerable body of horse and light-armed infantry. In this action Valerius receiving a wound in his side, fell dead from his horse; which occasioned the battle to be renewed with more fierceness than ever. The two nephews of the deceased (the sons of Poplicola) fought with inexpressible courage to hinder the dead body from being stript; and having recovered it from the enemy, they delivered it to Valerius's servants, to be conveyed to the Roman camp: but throwing themselves afterwards into the midst of the enemy, they were both killed upon the spot.

The loss of Valerius and his two nephews, and especially the absence of Æbutius, greatly disheartened the left wing of the Romans. Posthumius perceiving that the soldiers began to give ground, hastened to their assistance with a body of Roman knights who attended him as his guard. He gave orders at the same time to Titus Herminius, one of his lieutenants, to repair to the rear of the army, command those who fled to stop, and put all to the sword who would not obey. And now the dictator himself with his knights giving the reins to their horses, drove with the utmost fury upon the royalists, broke them, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. Herminius in the mean while rallied the runaways, and returning presently to the charge, fell upon some close battalions of the enemy's right wing which still kept their ground. His

chief aim was at the person of Mamilius who commanded them, and who was easily known by his tall stature, and the richness of his habit and armour. The Roman, to come at him, beat down all that stood in his way; he then attacked him, and with his first blow laid him dead upon the ground: nevertheless he lost his own life by a wound from an unknown hand, while he was busy in stripping the body of his enemy.

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dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

During all this time Sextus Tarquinius, who had returned from the centre of the Latines, and put himself again at the head of the left wing, maintained the fight with great bravery against the consul Virginus. He had even broke the right wing of the Roman army, when Posthumus appeared on a sudden with his victorious squadrons, to support it. This unexpected turn of affairs made Sextus lose at once all hopes of victory. Rushing therefore among the thickest ranks of the Roman knights, he there sunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had sold his life dear.

D. Hal. p.
350.

The death of Sextus Tarquinius was followed by the entire rout of the Latines, who had before lost their two other generals. Their camp was taken the same day, and the plunder abandoned to the Roman soldiers. No victory, hitherto gained by the Romans, had been either more necessary or more complete. Scarce ten thousand of the forty-three thousand Latines who had come into the field returned home. The whole nation, for a long time after, felt this severe stroke; nay, it may

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dred nine-
ty-five.



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D. Hal. p.
352.

be truly said, they never recovered of the blow which they received in the battle of Regillus.

Posthumius, the next morning, distributed the usual rewards to those who had behaved themselves well in the action, and returned thanks to the gods by sacrifices. Scarce were these ceremonies ended, when the scouts brought intelligence, that a great body of troops covered the plain, and was marching in order of battle. It was the Volsci come to the assistance of the Latines. Finding at their arrival how matters had gone, some of them were for falling upon the Romans before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but another party, willing rather to ingratiate themselves with the conquerors, prevailed to send messengers to the dictator, to tell him, they came to his assistance. Posthumius convicted them of falsehood by their letters which he had intercepted; and giving leave to the messengers to return, whom the multitude would have torn to pieces, he resolved to attack the Volscian army the next day: but in the night they broke up their camp and fled.

p. 353.

p. 354.

The dictator at his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph; and to his other names was added that of Regillensis, from the place of the late action. He allotted a tenth part of the spoils to defray the expenses of the public games, and to build some temples in honour of the gods; particularly one to Castor⁹

⁹ Dion. Hal. relates a fabulous story of two young horsemen, of an extraordinary and majestic stature, who during

and Pollux, who were said to have appeared during the battle of Regillus upon white horses, and to have fought for the Romans.

The Latines having now no remedy, but in an absolute submission, chose deputies out of those cities which had opposed the war, to be mediators at Rome, in favour of the whole nation. These appeared in the senate,

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dred nine-
ty-five.

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D. Hal. p.
355.

the action appeared to Posthumius and his party. They marched at the head of the cavalry, striking terror among the Latines, whom they wounded with darts and lances. In the evening, after the victory, the same horsemen appeared at Rome in the forum. Their fierce and threatening countenances, and their horses all dropping with sweat, made people conclude that they were returned from the battle. When they had dismounted, they washed themselves in the water of a spring that rose near the temple of Vesta; and they told the crowd of citizens, who surrounded them, the first news of the victory gained by the Romans; after which they disappeared. The next morning the magistrates receiving letters from the dictator, which among the other circumstances of the battle mentioned the sudden appearance of the two young horsemen, who fought for the Romans, it was concluded they were the same who had brought the news to Rome, and that they could be no other than Castor and Pollux. Plutarch, in his life of Paulus Æmilius, adds to this relation, that Lucius Domitius was the first who was informed by Castor and Pollux of the entire defeat of the Latines: and to make the fable still more wonderful, the same author affirms, that, Domitius having appeared surprised at the account, the two horsemen took him gently by the beard, and it immediately changed its colour from black to red; which miracle confirmed the relation, and got Domitius the surname of Ænobarbus, brazen-beard: and this story, fabulous as it is, was believed among the Romans. They transmitted it to posterity by public monuments, which were still subsisting in the time of Dionysius.

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ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

bearing in their hands olive branches bound round with wool, the usual marks of suppliants. They laid the blame of the rupture wholly upon the nobility of the country under the influence of the Tarquins. They represented in a moving strain the loss they had sustained of all the flower of their youth; that scarce a family in Latium was out of mourning. They conjured the Romans to have regard to consanguinity, and the zeal which the Latines had formerly shewn for the interests of Rome; and in conclusion, they yielded themselves wholly to the judgment of the fathers, laying at the feet of the dictator the badges which they bore of suitors and suppliants.

Rome had long since made it a maxim, to spare the nations which submitted; and Titus Lartius, the late dictator, declared himself for observing it in the present case. He advised a total oblivion of the fault committed by the Latines, and a renewal of the ancient treaties with them. Nevertheless the senate was not without some severe men, who were for razing all the cities of Latium, seizing their territories, and reducing the inhabitants to slavery. Among these was Spurius Cassius. Others were for depriving them of half their lands, by way of punishment; and, in consideration of kindred and blood, for leaving them in possession of their liberty. But the opinion of Lartius being approved by Posthumius, there was no further opposition to it; and a decree was accordingly passed for renewing the old

league ; on condition, however, that the Latines restored the prisoners they had taken, delivered up the deserters, and drove the Roman exiles out of Latium.

Such was the end of the last war which the Romans had with their neighbours on account of their banished king. As for Tarquin himself, the only person now left of his family, being abandoned by the Latines, Hetrurians, Sabines, and all the other free states about Rome, he retired into Campania to Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumæ. Here he shortly after ended his days, at about ninety years of age, and after fourteen years exile, which he had made remarkable by almost as many wars.

It must be granted, that Tarquin had several of those endowments and qualifications which enter into the character of a hero ; intrepid courage ; experience in arms ; an excellent capacity for negotiations ; an address whereby, even in banishment, and when divested of all power, he could alienate from the Romans their ancient allies, and unite those allies against his enemies ; an invention fruitful in expedients ; and a steady resolution never to quit his claim to empire but with life. All these made an assemblage of qualities not to be despised. But with these he had also in his nature such a strange composition of the most extravagant vices, as could not but prove fatal to his usurped tyranny. And as a judicious * writer has observed, had not the death of the unfortunate Lucretia

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ninety-five.

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D. Hal. p.
357, 358.

* Kenn.
Antiq.

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dred nine-
ty-five.

Fourteenth
Consulship.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 1.

administered to the Roman people an opportunity of liberty, yet a far slighter matter would have served them for a specious reason to endeavour the assertion of their rights.

The freedom which the Romans recovered by the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud was now secured to them by his death; a freedom that was indisputably the source of all their future grandeur. Nevertheless it is the opinion of Livy, that this very freedom, had they assumed it more early, and wrested the royal power from any of their former princes, would have proved the ruin of the rising state. "For what," says he, "would have been the consequence, if that commonalty, made up of herdsmen and outlaws from other countries, who found refuge and impunity at Rome, if they, being set free by some Brutus from the dread of majesty, had begun to be ruffled and agitated by the storms of tribunician fury, and, in a strange city, to engage in quarrels with the nobles, before the pledges of wives and children, and an affection (not quickly entertained) for the very place and soil, had associated their hearts, and linked them together in one common interest? Certainly the state not yet come to maturity, would through discord have faded and perished; whereas a peaceable and gentle government fostered and cherished it, and by a proper nourishment brought it to such strength and perfection as to be able to produce the wholesome fruits of liberty."

How just this reflection of the Latin historian is, will sufficiently appear by the events which come next to be related.

CHAP. V.

I. Domestic broils at Rome. II. The Volsci encouraged thereby, prepare to fall upon the Romans. The plebeians refuse to list themselves for the war. Servilius, one of the consuls, with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of personal affection, terrifies the enemy into a submission for the present; but he has no sooner led back his army, when they renew their preparations to attack the republic. III. While the senate are consulting about the levies to be made on this occasion, a sudden accident occasions an insurrection at Rome. Servilius appeases the tumult. News comes that the Volsci are approaching. Servilius by fair promises in relation to the debts engages the people to list themselves. IV. He defeats the enemy, and, though the senate refuse him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the soldiers, he triumphs in spite of their opposition. V. After this he takes the field again, and defeats the Aurunci. VI. The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promises. Servilius, not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the sedition increases.

I. SCARCE was the dangerous war with the Latines over, and the dictatorship of Posthumius expired, when the domestic feuds and dissensions at Rome revived. The senate, who thought it needless any longer to court the people, or even to shew them any condescension, revoked, by a decree, that suspension of the suits for debt, which nothing but

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CCLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred
ninety-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.
D. Hal. B.
6. p. 358,
& seq.

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R O M E
CLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-four.



Fifteenth
Consulship.

necessity had before induced them to grant. The creditors began to prosecute their debtors with more rigour than ever; and these of course renewed their murmurs and complaints. To prevent the mischiefs which this grand affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for Appius Claudius, whose resolution they were well acquainted with. But lest he should carry it too far, they gave him, for his colleague, P. Servilius, a man of a gentle, humane character, and agreeable to the poor and the multitude. These two magistrates were sure to be of contrary opinions. Servilius, out of goodness and compassion to the unfortunate, inclined to the remission of the debts, or at least of those exorbitant and accumulated interests which considerably exceeded the principal. He exhorted the senate to make some regulation in this matter, that might ease the people, and settle the tranquillity of the state upon a lasting foundation.

But Appius, a severe observer of the laws, maintained, with his usual constancy, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expense of their creditors; that this project tended to the very ruin of the subordination necessary in a well governed state; that the condescension which Servilius was for shewing to the necessities of the people, would be looked upon by the seditious only as a disguised weakness, and so breed new pretensions; whereas nothing would be a better proof of the power of the government than a

just severity shewed to those who by their disobedience and cabals had violated the majesty of the senate.

This diversity of opinion produced nothing but bitterness of speech and personal reflections. The senate assembled daily, and as often broke up without coming to any conclusion. In the mean time the people continued to be oppressed and to complain. Being informed of what passed in the senate, and of the different inclinations of the two consuls, they showered many praises upon Servilius, and heaped as many imprecations upon Appius. The most seditious among the multitude flocked together: they held secret assemblies in the night and in by-places; and, in a word, the discontent and disorder in the city were such as seemed to presage nothing less than a civil war.

II. THE news of these disturbances at Rome having reached the Volsci, they immediately began to draw their forces together, in order to march and besiege it; believing they could never have a more favourable opportunity to crush the new republic, which they hated, and had always looked upon with a jealous eye. Had the authority of the senate been regarded, an alarm of this kind would have been the luckiest thing that could have happened for their views, because it furnished a pretext to send away the most mutinous of the people from the city: but the Roman youth, being summoned as usual to be listed for the service, absolutely refused to appear;

Year of
R O M E
CCLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.

D. Hal. p.
859.

Year of
R O M E
CCLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.

and this disobedience occasioned another dispute between the consuls. Appius was for punishing the refractory with rigour, and Servilius for more indulgence.

As it was necessary to take the field against the enemy, the senate, without coming to any determination about the affair of the debts, decreed that Servilius should conduct the war, and Claudius govern the city. They made this regulation, in hopes that Servilius, being a popular man, would have less difficulty than the other to levy an army. Nevertheless the people still refused to list themselves in the accustomed manner. What troops he could raise were only volunteers who offered to serve, out of personal affection to the general. They were indeed the more formidable on this account; and the consul marched them straight into the enemies territory. The Volsci, depending on the civil broils at Rome, and little expecting that they should so soon have occasion to act upon the defensive, had not made such expedition in their preparations for the war as to be in a condition to face the Romans in the field. They were forced therefore to have recourse to supplications and intreaties; and by these they wrought upon the easy consul to favour them. He required of them only subsistence and clothes for his troops, and three hundred hostages of the best families.

Not long after the return of Servilius to Rome, and when the rich patricians, believing the state to be in no danger from any quarter,

D. Hal. p.
361.

were pursuing their poor debtors with the usual severity, some envoys from the Latines arrived in the city bringing with them by force certain deputies who had been sent by the Volsci to the Latine nation. Those deputies had been commissioned to engage the Latines, if possible, to join with the Volsci, the Hernici, and Sabines, in a league against Rome: but the Latines, quite humbled by their defeat in the battle of Regillus, would listen to no proposal for a new rupture with the republic; and the Romans, to reward their fidelity, and the zeal they shewed on this occasion, restored them six thousand prisoners taken in the last war; these captives they also new clothed before they sent them home, in order to make the favour yet more obliging.

III. THE discovery made by the Latine envoys of the secret negotiations of the Volsci, was more than sufficient to determine the senate to a declaration of war against them: but the fathers had now the same difficulties as before, in relation to the levies. They were assembled to debate this matter, and likewise what number of soldiers it would be proper to raise in the present exigence, when a sudden accident suspended their deliberations; and the calamity of a private citizen occasioned a general insurrection of the people.

A plebeian, loaded with chains, threw himself into the public place as into an asylum. He was a man in years, tall of stature, meager,

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R O M E
CCLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hundred ninety-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 22.

Year of
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CCLVIII.
Bef. J. C.
Four hun-
dred nine-
ty-four.

Fifteenth
Consulship.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 23.
D. Hal. p.
361.

p. 362.

pale, and his eyes sunk into his head; his clothes dirty and ragged, his beard bushy, his hair matted, and his appearance altogether a shocking spectacle. Nevertheless he was very well known; and some remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight with great valour. He himself named the consuls and the tribunes under whom he had served, and, addressing his speech to a multitude of people that surrounded him, and earnestly enquired the cause of his deplorable condition; he told them, that while he bore arms in the last war against the Sabines, he had not only been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incursion, had plundered and burnt his house. That the necessities of life, and the tributes which, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the interest being by degrees grown to an excessive sum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to discharge part of it. But that the merciless creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to prison, with two of his children; that to oblige him to hasten the payment of the residue, he had delivered him over to his slaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips: at the same time throwing off his garment, he shewed a back still bloody with lashes, suffered from his creditor; and a breast covered with the scars of wounds he had received in battle.

The people already ripe for sedition, and justly provoked at so barbarous an action, uttered a thousand cries of indignation against the patricians. The noise ran in a moment over the whole city, and the people flocked from all parts into the forum. Those whom the like misfortunes had thrown into the fetters of their creditors, made their escape; the sedition quickly found leaders and abettors, and the authority of the magistrate was no longer regarded. The consuls, who came in hopes of putting a stop to the disorder by their presence, being surrounded by the people hot with fury, found neither respect nor obedience in the citizens.

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Appius, abhorred by the multitude, was just going to be insulted, if he had not escaped under favour of the tumult. Servilius, though more agreeable to the people, was forced to throw off his consular robe, and, without any mark of his dignity, to run into the thickest of the crowd. He caressed and embraced the most mutinous, and with tears in his eyes conjured them to appease this disorder. He gave them his word that he would immediately call the senate, and take as much care of the people's interests in it as any plebeian could do; and as a proof of his sincerity, he proclaimed by a herald, that no citizen should be arrested for debt, till the senate had made some new regulation in this affair.

D. Hal. p.
362.

The people upon his word dispersed themselves; and the senate immediately assembled.

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 24.

Servilius laid before them the disposition of men's minds, and the necessity, in such a conjuncture, of abating somewhat of the severity of the laws. Appius, always faithful to his first opinion, firmly opposed this measure, and as he could never help tincturing his counsels with the austerity of his character, and the harshness of his manners, he publicly upbraided his colleague with being a flatterer and a slave of the people. Servilius, in his turn, reproached him with the obstinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animosity he shewed against the plebeians. Each consul had his party. The warm contention, occasioned by this opposition of sentiments, had begun to raise a great noise in the assembly, when some horsemen came full speed with an account, that an army of Volsci were upon their march to Rome.

This alarming news had not the same effect on all. The senators, their clients, and the richer sort of plebeians took arms: but those who were oppressed with debts, shewing their chains, asked with a bitter smile, whether it was worth their while to expose their lives to preserve such ornaments? And all these plebeians obstinately refused to give their names to be inrolled.

D. Hal. p.
363.

Rome was at this time in such an agitation as usually precedes the greatest revolutions; the consuls divided; the people disobedient to their magistrates; an enemy at the gates. The senate, who were almost equally afraid of the citizens and the Volsci, engaged Appius

to take upon him the defence of the city; because they hoped the people would more willingly follow his colleague into the field. Servilius, being appointed to march against the enemy, conjured the people not to abandon him in this expedition; and, to prevail upon them to take arms, he published a new prohibition against detaining in prison any Roman citizen who was willing to go with him to the war, or seizing his children or his goods: and by the said edict he engaged himself, in the name of the senate, to give the people, at his return, all reasonable satisfaction, with relation to their debts.

This declaration was no sooner published, but the people crowded to list themselves, some out of affection to the consul, whom they knew to be their friend, and others that they might not stay in Rome under the severe and imperious government of Appius. But of all the plebeians, none enrolled themselves more cheerfully than those very persons who had been most active in the last tumult.

IV. As soon as the levies were completed, Servilius marched to meet the enemy, and, when he was come within a small distance of them, encamped, a little before night, near the Pontine * lake. The Volsci insulted him the very next morning in his camp. The consul was in no haste to leave his entrenchments, not being yet sufficiently assured of the good will of his troops; but when he overheard his men accuse him of inactivity, and by their shouts was convinced of their eager-

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D. Hal. B.
6, p. 364.
Livy, B. 2.
c. 25.

* In Latium.

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ness to fight, he immediately ordered all the gates of his camp to be opened, and a general sally to be made. The Volsci could not stand the attack of the Romans, but were entirely defeated; and the consul, to reward his soldiers, gave them all the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was very rich, to enable them to pay their debts.

He then marched to Suessa Pometia, a considerable city of the Volsci, took it by assault, and put all to the sword who were past the age of puberty; an act of barbarity which seemed contrary to his natural temper. (Appius at the same time beheaded the three hundred Volscian hostages at Rome.) As to the spoil of Suessa, Servilius abandoned that likewise to his soldiers, without reserving any part of it for the public treasury.

D. Hal. p.
365.

This profuseness of the consul to his troops highly displeased his colleague. Servilius in his return to Rome, where he doubted not to obtain a triumph, received intelligence that Appius had persuaded the senate to refuse him that honour, under pretence, that he was a seditious man, who aimed at popularity by an excessive indulgence to his soldiers. The conqueror, touched to the quick with so undeserved a treatment, no sooner came before Rome, but he caused the people to be called together in a field without ¹ the walls, and

¹ Servilius made an halt, as soon as he came before Rome, because the laws did not permit him who demanded a triumph to enter into the city. He was obliged to keep without the walls with his army, and there wait for

there complained to them of the jealousy of his colleague, and the injustice of the senate. He presently found by the disposition of the audience, that he might attempt whatever he pleased. Without regard therefore to the senate's decision, he immediately decreed himself a ² triumph, and marched with the usual pomp to the capitol, attended by his army and all the people.

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V. BEFORE the expiration of this consulship, a new enemy started up against the republic. Ecetræ, a Volscian town, had lately submitted to the Romans; and these had sent thither a garrison to defend it. The Aurunci, a small community that possessed a part of Campania, not far from the Ecetrans, took umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garrison; they sent to Rome a haughty demand to have it instantly removed; and they added

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 366,
367.

the consent of the senate; to which he, according to custom, sent a letter wrapped up in laurel. Upon the receipt of this, the senators assembled in the temple of Bellona, which stood in one of the suburbs of Rome. Here the general gave them an account of his expedition, after which they made a decree, whereby they granted the conqueror the honours of a triumph. This decree was reported to the people, who confirmed it, and fixed the day for the ceremony, unless the tribunes of the people opposed it; which sometimes happened. And this law was a great instance of the policy of the Romans. An ambitious general, at the head of a victorious army, might have caused great disorders in Rome, if he had been permitted to enter it with his army; and might by force have obtained a triumph, which he had not merited.

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² This triumph is not marked in the capitoline tables.

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threatenings in case of refusal. The senate in answer, bid the envoys go tell their masters, that it was a dangerous thing to attack those whose very neighbourhood was formidable to them. A war presently ensued. The Aurunci entered Latium and advanced as far as Aricia: there the Romans came up with them, and, at first sight of these new enemies, were a little daunted at their gigantic stature, those fierce looks, and that martial air which distinguished them from all the other nations of Italy: however, calling to mind the great abilities of their own generals, Servilius and Posthumius Regillensis (which latter commanded the cavalry), this restored their confidence. In the beginning of the action the Romans had much the disadvantage, being very unequal in strength to the enemy, and unable to sustain the fury of their first charge; and to their further discouragement, they quickly found that their horse could be of no service to them, because the field of battle was extremely uneven and full of rocks. Posthumius nevertheless recovered the day by his able conduct. Making his cavalry dismount, he led them to the assistance of those battalions that were giving ground, and by his words and example in a short time brought them again into order; after which the enemy were soon routed and their camp taken. The Aurunci entirely disappearing, Servilius marched his army back to Rome.

Livy, B. 2.  
c. 27.

VI. AND now after so many victories obtained, chiefly by the bravery of those who

were most in debt, the people thought they might confidently demand the performance of Servilius's promises; and indeed for his part, he left no means untried to make good his word. He employed his utmost efforts to prevail with the senate to grant the debtors a general release. But Appius, who looked upon the least change in the laws to be dangerous, strongly opposed his colleague's desire. He gave the creditors fresh power to drag the debtors to prison; and the applauses he thereby got from the rich, and the curses from the poor, equally concurred to the confirming this magistrate in his severity.

Those who were arrested, appealed to Servilius; they urged upon him the promises he had made to the people before the campaign, and the services they had done in the war. They cried aloud before this tribunal, that either in quality of consul he should undertake the defence of his fellow-citizens, or, as general, not desert the interest of his soldiers. But Servilius, who was naturally timorous and averse to strife, durst not declare openly against the whole body of patricians; and by endeavouring to manage both parties he disobliged both, so that he got the hatred of the one, and the contempt of the other.

How low he was sunk in the esteem of the people most remarkably appeared when the time came to consecrate a temple which had been erected to Mercury. The consecrator was to have considerable powers and privileges. He was to be the head and founder of

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a society of <sup>3</sup> merchants in Rome; to have the charge of furnishing the city with provisions, and to inspect them; and he was to have all the honours, and perform all the functions of a pontifex maximus within the verge of this temple. Appius and Servilius standing in competition for this office, the senate were unwilling to decide any thing in the matter, and therefore referred it wholly to the people. This would some time ago have been in effect to decree in Servilius's favour; but at present the people were so much dissatisfied with both their consuls, that they would not bestow the honour in question upon either of them; they chose one M. Lætorius, who was only a centurion, to perform the consecration. Hereupon the two magistrates, equally enraged, joined with the senate in putting the laws in execution against the debtors with the utmost rigour; a vain effort of revenge; for the multitude paid no regard to their authority. When any plebeian was prosecuted for debt, the populace came in crowds into court, and made such a noise, that the sentence, pronounced by the judges, could not be heard. The debtors no longer endeavoured to appease their creditors and mollify the senate by entreaties, they insulted both; and instead of the plebeians, the patricians were now in danger of imprisonment and slavery. Nothing prevailed in the city but tumult and violence.


<sup>3</sup> Mercury was thought by the pagans to be the god of commerce, whence Cicero calls merchants *Mercuriales*.

## CHAP. VI.

*I. The people refuse to obey the summons of the new consuls (A. Virginus and T. Veturius) to list themselves for a war against the Sabines, Æqui, and Volsci. Manius Valerius, a brother of Poplicola, is created dictator. II. Valerius prevails with the people to serve, by promising them full satisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war shall be over, and by suspending in the mean time all prosecutions for debt. Three armies are raised, to be commanded by the dictator and the two consuls. The enemy are defeated on all sides. III. The dictator at his return home demands of the senate to discharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuses himself to the people, and resigns the dictatorship.*

I. SUCH was the state of Rome when A. Virginus and T. Veturius, men of little steadiness, took possession of the consulate. The most considerable of the discontented plebeians held private assemblies by night to consult the proper measures for a redress of their grievances, and for preventing their being drawn by surprise into any thing disadvantageous to them, when they should be called together in legal comitia. Notice being brought to the consuls of these secret meetings, they inform the senate of them, submitting it to the wisdom of that venerable body to prescribe a remedy for the growing evil; a deference that was by no means agreeable to the conscript fathers, who saw through the policy of their magistrates, that were unwilling to draw the odium of punishing the offenders upon themselves. The senate having

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Livy, B. 2.
c. 29.

severely reproved them for their timid conduct, ordered them immediately to raise an army in legal form, for a war which threatened the republic. It seems the Sabines, encouraged by the intestine broils at Rome, had revolted, and they had engaged the Roman colony of Medulia to enter with them into a league confirmed by oaths. The consuls according to their instructions summoned the tribes, but it was to no purpose, the people being obstinately determined not to list themselves till such time as all debts should be abolished. Virginius and Veturius, finding that nobody regarded their summons, laid all the blame of the disobedience upon the senate. They even accused the fathers to the fathers themselves, and they added, “Let those of you who are the boldest within doors at making severe decrees, now shew their heads without doors, and face the fury of the multitude. You will then see whether it be to our want of courage, or to your false measures, that the untractableness of the people is owing.” These words so provoked the younger senators, that, leaving their seats, they surrounded the consuls, called them cowards, and bid them come down from their thrones and discharge themselves of a burthen that was too heavy for their weakness.

After some time spent in these mutual reproaches, the consuls returned once more to the forum, guarded by a good number of the senators, to add the more weight to their authority. They ascended their tribunal, and

called upon one of the most factious by name to come and be enrolled. The man did not answer; and his silence being taken for disobedience, he was instantly seized: but the populace, quite furious, tore him out of the lictor's hands; and the consuls experienced on this occasion how little respect is paid to majesty without strength; they had enough to do to defend the senators, who attended them, from blows.

While the people were thus enraged against the senate, the senate against the people, and the consuls regarded by neither people nor senate, envoys came from the Latines and Crustumini (allies of Rome) complaining of the hostilities of the Æqui and Sabines; and an embassy from the Volsci arrived at the same time, demanding restitution of the lands conquered by the Romans from them. Upon this new alarm the senate assembled extraordinarily. Titus Lartius, that venerable senator, who had been formerly dictator, gave his opinion first. He said, that the only way to put an end to these alarms from abroad, was to establish peace at home; and he proposed, that the assembly might meet again the next day to deliberate about the methods necessary to procure that happiness. That in the meantime the Volscian ambassadors should be answered, that it was not consistent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands. And as to the allies, he advised, that assurances should be given them, that Rome would never leave them exposed to the

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D. Hal. B.
6. p. 368.

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insults of their enemies. This advice was approved and followed.


The next day the senate sat again. The consul Virginus spoke first, and proposed a medium between the severity of Appius and the general release of debts. He was for having those soldiers, who had fought so successfully the last year, protected by the senate against their creditors; but for leaving the other debtors to the severity of the law.

Lartius stood up next and said, that he saw, with abundance of grief, Rome split as it were into two cities: that one was full of nothing but riches and pride, and the other misery and rebellion: that there was no appearance in either of justice or of honour, or even of common decency; that the haughtiness of the great was no less odious than the disobedience of the lower sort; that he could not but foresee, the extreme poverty of the people would always keep up dissension; and that he did not think it possible to restore peace and union between the two orders, by any other means than a general abolition of the debts.

Appius, when it came to his turn to speak, was equally against both these proposals: he affirmed, that the frequent mutinies among the people did not proceed so much from their want as from an unbridled licentiousness, which seditious men were pleased to call by the name of liberty; and from the abuse which they made of the Lex Valeria. "They violate," said he, "the majesty of the consuls with impunity, because they know they can

appeal from the condemnation of their crime to the very accomplices of it : and what order can we ever hope to establish in a state, where the decrees of the magistrates are subject to the revisal and judgment of a rabble guided wholly by their fury and caprice? Let us create a dictator, whose judgments are without appeal; and then we need not fear, that even the most daring of the plebeians will be so insolent as to repulse the lictors of a magistrate, who has the sovereign disposal of their lives and fortunes."

The younger senators, and those especially whose interest was concerned in the abolition of the debts, declared for Appius's opinion; and were even for conferring the dictatorship upon him: they said, that a supreme magistrate of his firmness and intrepidity was absolutely necessary to reduce the people to their duty. But the more experienced and the more moderate of the senate thought the dictatorial power, always formidable, would be very improperly placed in the hands of a man naturally severe and inflexible. By their advice one of the consuls named to that office Manius Valerius, a man of above seventy years of age, brother to the famous Poplicola. This nomination was indeed contrary to law, which required that the dictator should always be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually consuls; but as no person was judged so proper for that station at this time, the necessity of the case made the senate overlook rules.

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5. p. 371.

II. VALERIUS, plebeian in his inclination, named, for general of the horse, Quintius Servilius, the brother of the last year's consul, and who thought, as the dictator himself did, that there was a great deal of justice in the people's complaints. Then having convened a general assembly of the citizens, he told them, that they need not have any apprehensions, that either their liberty, or the Lex Valeria, which was its chief support, would be in danger under a dictator of the family of Valerius Poplicola. That he did not ascend his tribunal to cheat them with false promises; that indeed there was a necessity of their marching against the enemies who were advancing towards Rome; but that he would engage in his own name, and on the part of the senate, to give them full satisfaction, with relation to their complaints, at their return from the campaign: he added, " And in the mean while, by the sovereign authority with which I am invested, I declare your persons, your lands, and your goods, to be perfectly free: I suspend the effect of all obligations that might be made use of to give you trouble. Come and assist us to conquer new lands from our enemies for your use."

p. 373.

This speech filled the people with hopes and with comfort. Every body took arms with pleasure, and ten legions were raised complete; three were given to each consul, and the dictator reserved four to himself. The Romans marched against the enemy on different sides. The dictator gained a notable victory over

the Sabines, laid waste their country, and enriched his soldiers with spoil: the consul Veturius routed the Volsci, after which he took their camp, and then Velitræ, into which place he entered sword in hand in pursuit of the vanquished: and A. Virginus, the other consul, obtained over the Æqui a victory, which, by reason of their hasty flight, was without much bloodshed. Except the victory at Regillus, the Romans had never gained a more important one than that of the dictator over the Sabines. Accordingly he was decreed a triumph by both senate and people; and as a further mark of distinction, they allotted him an honourable place in the circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed that a curule chair should always be placed there for him; and this honour they made hereditary in his family.

III. THE senate apprehending that the soldiers at their return would challenge of the dictator the execution of his promise, desired him and the two consuls to detain them still under their ensigns, upon pretence that the war was not quite finished. The two consuls obeyed; but the dictator, whose authority was independent of the senate, disbanded his army. He declared his soldiers free of the ⁴oath they

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6. p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> The giving the military oath, which was called *sacramentum*, was, properly speaking, the legal method of forming the Roman armies. After the soldiers had been chosen out of each tribe, in the manner elsewhere described, this oath was administered to them. The ceremony was this: the tribunes of each legion assembled the body they commanded. Then one soldier in a legion swore,

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took when they listed themselves; and as a new proof of his affection to the plebeians, he chose out of that order four hundred of the most considerable, whom he brought into that of the knights. He then went to the senate, and demanded that a decree should be passed for the abolition of the debts, pursuant to the promise he had made the people. The oldest senators and the best men, excepting only Appius, were for consenting to this demand. But the faction of the rich got the better, being supported by the young senators, who thought that nothing could be done for the relief of the people, but to the diminution

in the name of all the rest, to obey the commanders of the Roman army. After this, every soldier came, and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn. This custom continued till the 538th year of Rome; and then another oath, called by Livy, B. 22. *jusjurandum*, (of which we shall speak in its proper place,) was added to the former. By virtue of this engagement, rebels and deserters were punished with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewise another way of enlisting men, which was called *conjuratio*. It took place, in case of unforeseen commotions, and the sudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be lost in raising the necessary succours, the soldiers were excused the formalities usually observed in enrolling them. The general only went up to the capitol, and there erected two standards; one red, for the foot; and the other blue, for the horse. After which, he pronounced these words, with a loud voice: "Let those who love the safety of the republic make haste and follow me." A third way of enrolling or enlisting men, then in use, was this. The consuls committed it to the care of chosen persons, to raise troops in different places, as the republic had occasion for them; and this was called *evocatio*. C. & R.

of the senate's authority. There were even several who, presuming upon the dictator's mildness of temper, reproached him, that he sought by the vilest methods the applauses of a base populace. Not only his demand was rejected, but he was made to understand, that if his dictatorial dignity had not set him above the laws, the senate would call him to an account for disbanding his army, as an action contrary to the military laws, while the enemies of the republic were still in arms.

The venerable old man answered, "I plainly perceive that I am not agreeable to you: I am accused of being too popular; may the gods grant that all the defenders of the Roman people, who shall rise hereafter, may be as moderate as I am! But expect not that I will deceive my fellow-citizens, who took up arms upon my promise, and who at the price of their blood have triumphed over your enemies. A foreign war, and our domestic feuds, were the occasion of the republic's honouring me with the dictatorship. We now have peace abroad, and I am hindered from establishing it at home; thus my office being grown useless, I am resolved to hold it no longer. I had rather behold the sedition as a private person, than with the title of dictator." Concluding with these words, he left the senate abruptly, and convened an assembly of the people.

When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the ensigns of his dignity; he first returned the people thanks for the readiness with which upon his orders they had

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6. p. 374,
& 375.

taken arms, and then he highly praised the valour they had shown in every action of the war, against the enemies of the commonwealth. "You," said he, "like good citizens, have performed your duty. It were now my turn to acquit myself of the promise I made you; but a faction more powerful than the authority of the dictator himself hinders the effect of my sincere intentions. I am publicly called an enemy to the senate: my conduct is censured; it is imputed to me as a crime, that I left you the spoils of our enemies, and above all, that I absolved you from the military oath. I know after what manner, in the vigour of my life, I should have answered such injuries; but they despise an old man of above threescore and ten; and as I am now past either revenging myself, or doing justice to you, I freely resign a dignity in which I can do you no service. If any one of my fellow-citizens condemns me for the non-performance of my word, I willingly put my small remains of life into his hands; he may deprive me of it, if he pleases; I shall neither murmur nor oppose."

The multitude heard this discourse with respect and veneration for the man, and they conducted him to his house with as many praises as if he had pronounced the abolition of the debts.

CHAP. VII.

I. The discontent among the people augments. The consuls, to give the mutineers a diversion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet disbanded, again into the field. The soldiers desert their generals, and, by the advice of Sicinnius Bellutus, retire to a hill three miles from Rome. II. The senate dispatch a deputation to them to persuade them to return; but in vain. Posthumius Cominius, and Spurius Cassius, are chosen consuls. Warm debates in the senate. A second deputation is sent to the mutineers in spite of the remonstrances of Appius Claudius. III. The artful management of Sicinnius Bellutus, and Junius Brutus, the two heads of the sedition, in their conference with the deputies. IV. Menenius Agrippa, by his famous apologue, overcomes the obstinacy of the mutineers; but when they are just ready to go back to the city, Brutus puts a stop to their march till the senate have agreed to the creation of some new officers, chosen out of the plebeians, to be the future protectors of the people. These officers are styled tribunes of the people.

I. AND now the plebeian debtors turned their whole indignation against the senate, which had so often deceived them: they held assemblies, not by night, but in open day, and seemed determined to keep no longer any measures. The consuls, who still held their troops engaged by the customary oath they had taken to them, never to quit their ensigns without leave, led them by the senate's advice out of the city under pretence of apprehending a new war from the Æqui and Sabines. The soldiers, perceiving the artifice, had no sooner entered the field, but the most furious

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were for murdering the consuls, in order to free themselves and their fellows at once from the oath that bound them: but the more sober having represented to those madmen how useless, with regard to their purpose, such a crime would be, they, by the advice of one Sicinnius, took another method. They snatched up the ensigns, which they had sworn not to desert, and marched away with them. The legions instantly, forsaking their officers⁵, followed; and all retired to a hill, (afterwards called Mons Sacer) three miles from Rome, near the river Anio. Here they encamped, and here they continued quiet, observing an exact discipline, and attempting no sort of violence whatever.

⁵ Dion. Hal. gives us the reason why the legions so readily followed their ensigns. The Romans, says he, when they are in the field, respect nothing more than their ensigns and standards. They are to them as so many deities. They swear by their military ensigns, and pay them a sort of religious worship. On certain festivals, they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. *Aquilæ certe, ac signa illa pulverulenta, & custodiis horrida, inunguntur etiam festis diebus. Utinamque dicere possemus quis primus instituisset!* Plin. B. 13. This custom is also attested by an inscription on an ancient marble; which runs thus, CORONÆ. INLATÆ. SIGNA QUE UNCTA. Animated by this superstitious prejudice, the soldiers braved the greatest dangers, and despised death itself, to secure these precious pledges from being taken by the enemy. It often was treated as a capital crime, a man's suffering his standard to be taken from him: history gives us several instances of those who were condemned to be whipped, and to lose their heads, for having lost the colours committed to their care. C. & R.

II. A DESERTION so general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneasiness to the senate. They immediately set guards at the gates of the city, as well for its security, as to hinder any more of the plebeians from joining the mal-contents. But, notwithstanding this precaution, those who were burthened with debts, and even many others, who without being in debt, were discontented, escaped to the mutineers; and Rome saw at her gates a very formidable army of her own citizens, ready to turn their arms against those that remained in the city.

The patricians immediately divided themselves into several bodies, to be differently employed: some at the head of their clients, and of such plebeians as would not take part in the secession, secured the most advanced posts; others intrenched themselves at the entrance of the city; the old men undertook the defence of the walls; and all appeared equally vigorous and resolute.

After these precautions, the senate dispatched a deputation to the mal-contents, to offer them a general pardon, and exhort them to return into the city. But this step, taken before the swell of passion had subsided, produced nothing but a contemptuous and menacing answer from the seceders, That the patricians should quickly find what enemies they had to deal with: which augmented the general consternation and perplexity in Rome.

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D. Hal. p.
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p. 378.

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The two consuls, whose magistracy was expiring, appointed an assembly for the election of their successors; nobody presented himself candidate for that dignity; several even refused it. At length, Posthumius Cominius, and Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, both consular persons, were constrained to accept it; and the senate pitched upon them, because they were equally agreeable to the nobles and plebeians, and because Cassius especially had always behaved himself very prudently between the two parties.

The new consuls began their administration with assembling the senate to consider of the best and most speedy methods of restoring peace and union in the state.

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 379,
& seq.

Menenius Agrippa, a consular person, and eminent for integrity of manners, being the first called upon to give his opinion, declared, that he thought it adviseable to dispatch a new deputation to the mal-contents, and to give the deputies full power to put an end to this ugly affair, upon whatever conditions they should find necessary for the good of the republic. Some of the fathers objected, that it would be a derogation to the majesty of the senate, to send a second deputation to rebels, who had given such an unworthy reception to their first: but Menenius answered, that this was no time to insist upon a vain punctilio; that the preservation of the republic, and even necessity, to which the gods themselves were submitted, obliged the senate to court the people. That Rome, the terror of her

neighbours, was in a manner besieged by her own citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no act of hostility, but that for this very reason the senate ought to be the more careful to prevent a war, which, whatever should be the success of it, could not but be fatal to the state.

He added, that the Sabines, the Volsci, the Æqui, and the Hernici, all irreconcilable enemies of the Roman name, would already have joined the rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the Romans weaken and destroy themselves by their own divisions. That no great assistance was to be expected from the allies of the republic; that as for the nations of Campania and Hetruria, they were always governed by events, and their faith was to be suspected; that even the Latines were not much more to be depended on, a people jealous of the superiority of Rome, and even fond of novelty. That the patricians deceived themselves, if they hoped, merely with the help of their clients and slaves, to withstand a combination of so many foreign and domestic enemies.

M. Valerius, (the late dictator) whose mind was embittered against the senate, added to what Menenius had said, that there was reason to apprehend the mal-contents would renounce their country, and think of settling elsewhere: that Rome would become a desert; and the senate, by continuing inflexible, lose its chief strength. That, if they had followed his advice during his dictatorship, they

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D. Hal. E.
6. p. 385.

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might by the abolition of the debts have preserved union and peace between the two orders in the state; but must not imagine that the people, who had so often been cheated by the false promises of the senate, would now be satisfied with that abolition. That he feared the ill treatment they had received would incite them to demand securities for the future enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That the creation of a dictator, a modern invention of the senate's, entirely defeated the purpose of the Lex Valeria, the people's refuge, and the guardian of their liberty. That it could not be denied, but many of the plebeians had been despoiled of their lands by the exorbitant interests exacted from them for money lent by certain rich usurers; and those poor wretches thrown into chains and slavery as so many criminals: that indeed the more equitable among the patricians had no share in these tyrannical proceedings, but only some haughty spirits, who aimed at an oligarchy, and had formed themselves into a faction, at the head of which was Appius Claudius, the most declared enemy of the people, and who was always endeavouring to perplex and embroil the public affairs. And he concluded with seconding the motion of Menenius for sending a new deputation to the seceders.

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 386,
& seq.

Appius, when it was his turn to speak, rose up, and addressing himself to M. Valerius, said, "If you had confined yourself barely to give your opinion upon the affair in question, without falling upon me so unjustly, you had

not exposed yourself to hear truths, which may not be very agreeable to you. But before I offer them to this assembly, it is fit I should answer your calumnies. Tell me, Valerius, where are the Romans whom I have prosecuted with the rigour of justice, to oblige them to pay me what they owe me? Name the citizens whom I have kept in chains; go search among the crowd of mal-contents, and see whether there be one man who will say, he left the city out of fear of being imprisoned by me. Every body knows that I have used my debtors like my clients and friends; that without considering the old debts, I have assisted them anew in their necessities; and that, as much as in me lay, the citizens were always free. Not that I propose my conduct as a rule for others; I will always contend for the authority of the laws in favour of those who have recourse to them. I am even convinced, that, with regard to certain debtors who spend their lives in idleness and debauchery, it is as reasonable to make them pay, as it is noble and generous to forgive poor citizens who are peaceable and laborious, but whose misfortunes have reduced them to extreme want: such has been my conduct, and such are the imperious maxims with which I am charged. But, it seems, I have declared myself a favourer of the great, and it is by my counsels that they have possessed themselves of the government.—This crime (turning toward the chief of the senate) I am guilty of in common with you. The government belongs to you,

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and you are too wise to yield it up to an unbridled rabble, to that furious beast which hearkens only to its flatterers, its slaves; slaves that often become its tyrants: and this is what we ought to apprehend from M. Valerius; who, though all the credit he has in the republic be owing to the dignities with which we have honoured him, makes use of it now to ruin our laws, change the form of our government, and, by his mean condescensions, pave himself a way to the tyranny. You have heard his own words, and must have observed, that, being better informed than we of the pernicious designs of the rebels, he gives us notice to prepare for new pretensions: under colour of demanding security for the liberty of the people, he seeks nothing but to destroy that of the senate.

“ But, to come to the chief point, upon which we meet this day: I say, that it is striking at the very foundation of a state to change its laws; and that it is impossible to annul the contracts between private persons, without violating the public faith, the bond of society. Will you now grant to a seditious mob, who are ready to turn their arms against their country, what you have often prudently refused to quiet citizens, and to brave soldiers? Consider that you can make no concession in this article of the debts, without opening a door at the same time to new pretensions. Before it be long, the leaders of the sedition, in concert with M. Valerius, will want to be admitted into the chief dignities of the state. May the tutular gods of Rome

grant, that the government do not at last fall wholly into the hands of a base populace, that will punish you for your weakness, and banish you yourselves from your country !

“ Endeavours are used to terrify you with the arms of the rebels: but have you not their wives, and children in hostage ? Will they, with open force, attack a city which incloses all that they hold most dear ? But I shall grant, that they have no more regard to the ties of blood, than to the laws of the government: Have they the generals, the provisions, the money necessary to maintain themselves in such an enterprise ? What will become of them during winter, which is now approaching, without bread, without shelter, and without daring to straggle for fear of falling into our hands ? If they take refuge among our neighbours, will they not find the government there, as well as at Rome, in the hands of the great ? Can rebels and run-aways expect to be placed in any other condition than that of wretched slaves ? Perhaps it is feared, that our neighbours and they will join their forces and besiege Rome ; and that the city will not have a sufficient number of inhabitants for its defence ; as if the strength of the republic lay wholly in the rebels. But have you not amongst the patricians a flourishing youth, and full of courage ? Our clients, who are the soundest part of the plebeian body, are they not, like us, immoveably faithful to the interest of the commonwealth ? It appeared by the last numbering of the people, that we had

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no less than a hundred and thirty thousand men fit to bear arms; there is scarce the seventh part of these among the mal-contents. But, if occasion be, let us arm our slaves, let us make of them a new people; these we shall find obedient. In our service, and from our example, they have learnt the discipline of war. How courageously will they fight, if liberty is to be the reward of their valour! If all these helps do not seem sufficient, recall your colonies. Nay, rather than submit to receive law from the rebels, grant the Latines the rights of citizens of Rome, which they have so long sued for: you will then see them immediately run to your assistance; and you will want neither soldiers nor citizens. To reduce my opinion to a few words, I think we ought not to send deputies to the rebels, nor do any thing that can shew the least fear or uneasiness. If they return to their duty, we ought to use them gently; but, if they persist in their revolt, fall upon them sword in hand."

D. Hal. p.
391.

This advice was approved, though for different reasons, by the faction of the rich, and by all the young senators. On the other hand, the two consuls, favourers of the people, and the old men, naturally timorous, maintained, that civil war was the greatest calamity that could befall a state. The same was urged by such of the senate as regarded only the preservation of the public liberty, and who doubted whether some ambitious and enterprising man might not arise even out of the body of the senate, and by the help of these divisions

make himself sole master of the government. But scarce were they so much as heard; the place was filled with clamour and threatenings. The youngest senators, insolent upon account of their birth, and jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, went even so far as to intimate to the consuls, that they suspected them. They put those magistrates in mind, that being in the place of the kings, it was their duty to maintain, against the invasions of the people, not only the regal authority, but that of the senate; and the more violent declared, that if the least insult were offered to the latter, they would take arms to preserve to their order an authority which they had received from their ancestors.

The consuls, having conferred together, determined to give these warm spirits time to cool; and for that purpose to put off the decision of this great affair to another day: but, before the assembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young senators*, who had talked in so audacious a manner, they threatened them, that unless they behaved themselves for the future with more modesty in so venerable an assembly, means would be found to exclude them wholly from it, by fixing⁶ the age neces-

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* D. Hal.
p. 392.

⁶ That there was a certain age, in after-times required, is plain from the frequent use of *ætas senatoria* in authors. Dio Cassius positively limits it to five and twenty, which was the soonest time any one could have discharged the quæstorship, the first office of any considerable note: yet we meet with very many persons promoted to this order without any consideration had to their years, as it usually

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sary for a senator. As this had not yet been settled, the young men, more afraid of losing their dignity than their point, truckled to the menaces and power of the consuls, who at the same time made use of another artifice against the older senators who opposed the abolition of the debts. They told them, they could no longer bear this division in the senate; and that if the fathers did not enter into more unanimous measures, they would carry the affair before the people, to whom, as it related to war, they could not without injustice refuse the cognizance of it, according to what had been practised even under the government of the kings.

Those of the senators, who had embraced Appius's opinion with most warmth, plainly saw by the turn which the consuls gave to this affair, that it would slip from them, if they persisted in their first sentiments. The fear of falling into the people's hands staggered them; and the tears and cries of the women and children who embraced their knees, and begged of them their fathers and husbands, gained them over entirely; so that, the senate being convened again, they declared for com-

happened in all other honours whatever. Ken. Antiq. p. 102.

Pompey established among the Bithynians a law by which no one could become a member of their senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable that he followed the custom of the Roman republic in this regulation; and the more so, because Pliny the younger tells us, in one of his letters to the emperor Trajan, that the Bithynians made the Romans their pattern, especially in what related to their magistracy and senate. C. & R.

ing to an agreement with the mal-contents. Appius remained almost alone in his opposition. Addressing himself to the two consuls, he said, "I find, it will be to no purpose for me to offer any thing further upon this matter; you seem resolved to treat with the rebels upon their own conditions; however, you will give me leave to declare once more, that this shall never be with my consent. I repeat it, that I think we cannot indeed have too much regard to the miseries of those debtors who have continued faithful and obedient to the government; but I affirm, that all manner of negotiation with rebels is dangerous, so long as they continue in arms."

As the fathers had already taken their resolution, they gave no longer any heed to the opposition of this inflexible senator; but named ten commissioners to treat with the mal-contents; and chose them out of those of their own body who had always declared in favour of the people. At the head of this deputation were T. Lartius, Menenius Agrippa, and M. Valerius, all three in great esteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, in quality of dictators: they set forward with their colleagues towards the camp. This great news got thither before them; and the soldiers ran out in crowds to receive them.

III. AMONG the seceders was a certain plebeian, named Lucius Junius, and who, out of a ridiculous vanity, had assumed the surname of Brutus, that he might have the greater resemblance to the illustrious deliverer of his

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country from the Tarquins. Notwithstanding this affectation, for which many of his companions laughed at him, he was a man of singular penetration and foresight, and wanted not the talents of speaking readily and to the purpose. He advised Sicinnius, the leader of the mutineers, to cross the negotiation at first, and to start new objections against a re-union, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what price the other party would purchase it. "The senate," said he, "betray their fear: we are masters, if we know how to improve this opportunity; let those grave senators deliver their errand; I undertake to answer them in the name of our companions; and I hope to do it in a manner that will not be unserviceable to the common cause."

These two heads of the secession having agreed upon the different parts they were to act, Sicinnius introduced the deputies into the camp, who, when they had placed themselves where they could be heard by the multitude, which flocked about them, were told, that they might give an account of their commission. Manius Valerius then said, that he brought them joyful news; that the senate had not only decreed an amnesty of all their past faults, but had impowered him and his colleagues to grant them all the favours that were compatible with the honour of the patrician body; and that there was nothing now to hinder them from returning to the city. To this he added some pressing exhortations to

D. Hal. B.
6. p. 395.

the seceders, not to neglect the present favourable opportunity, which the senate's great condescension and goodness gave them, of putting a happy period to all their discontents.

When Valerius had ended, Sicinnius observed to the audience, that, in affairs of importance, prudent men never came to a determination, upon hearing only what could be said on one side of a question: and he declared, that whoever was willing to answer Valerius, might speak his objections without shame or fear, or reserve; the necessity of the case not admitting of ceremony or human respects. Nevertheless, a profound silence reigned in the assembly; the soldiers stood looking at one another, each expecting that some other would make himself advocate for the common cause. Then Brutus, pursuant to his agreement with Sicinnius, stepped forward, and, addressing himself to his comrades, said: "From this deep silence, fellow-soldiers, one would imagine, you are still awed by that servile fear in which the patricians and your creditors kept you so long. Every man consults the eyes of the rest to discover, whether there be more resolution in others than he finds in himself; and not one of you has the courage to speak, in public, that which is the constant subject of your private conversations. Know you not that you are free? This camp, these arms, have they not convinced you, that you are no longer under your tyrants? Or, if any doubt remained, this step which the senate has now taken, is not this sufficient to satisfy you?"

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Those patricians, so haughty and imperious, now send to court us; they no longer make use either of proud commands, or of cruel threats; they invite us as their fellow-citizens to return into our common city; nay, some of our sovereigns, you see, are so gracious as to come to our very camp, to offer us a general pardon. Whence then can proceed this obstinate silence, after such singular condescensions? If you doubt the sincerity of their promises; if you fear, that, under the veil of a few fine words, they conceal your former chains, why do you not speak?—All silent?—Hear then a Roman, who has the courage to declare his thoughts freely to these ambassadors, and to dissemble nothing.”

Then turning to Valerius, “ You invite us to go back to Rome; but you do not tell us upon what terms we are to be there: can plebeians poor, though free, think of being united with patricians so rich, and so ambitious? And should we agree to the conditions you have to offer, what security will the patricians give us for the performance? Those haughty patricians, who make it a merit among themselves to have deceived the people? You talk to us of nothing but condescension and forgiveness, as if we were your subjects, and subjects in rebellion; but that is the point to be discussed. Is it the people or the senate who are in fault? Which of the two orders was it that first violated those laws of society, which ought to reign among the members of one and the same republic? This is the question.

“ In order to judge of this without prejudice, give me leave barely to relate a certain number of facts, for the truth of which I will appeal to no other but yourself and your colleagues.

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“ Our government was originally monarchic ; we had seven kings in succession : and none of them ever did the people the least wrong. Tarquin himself, the last of those princes, Tarquin, so odious to the senate and the nobility, favoured our interests as much as he opposed yours. He loved the soldiers, he had an esteem for valour, he was always for rewarding it ; and every body knows, that having found immense riches in Suessa, a town of the Volsci, which he had taken, he chose rather to leave the booty to his army, than to appropriate it to himself ; so that beside the slaves, the horses, the corn and the household-stuff, there remained over and above to each soldier five minæ of silver.

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“ Nevertheless, to revenge your wrongs, we drove that prince from Rome ; nor were all his repeated solicitations and rich offers sufficient to move us, to forsake your interests and return to his obedience. We afterwards cut to pieces the armies of Veii, and Tarquinii, which endeavoured to restore him to the throne. The formidable power of Porsena, the famine we underwent during a long siege, the fierce assaults, the continual battles—Were all these, or in short, was any thing capable of shaking the faith which we had given you ? Thirty Latine cities united to restore the

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banished king. What would you have done, if we had then abandoned you, and joined your enemies? We might have had any rewards from Tarquin, while the senate and nobles would have been the victims of his resentment. Who dispersed that dangerous combination? To whom are you obliged for the defeat of the Latines? Is it not to this people? To them you owe that very power which you have since turned against them. What recompense have we had for the assistance we gave you? Is the condition of the Roman people one jot the better? Have you associated them in your offices and dignities? Have our poor citizens found so much as the smallest relief in their necessities? No, our bravest soldiers, oppressed with the weight of usury, have been groaning in the chains of their merciless creditors. All those fine promises of abolishing in time of peace the debts which the extortions of the great had forced us to contract, what is become of them? Scarce was the war finished, but you forgot both our services, and your oaths. With what design then do you come hither? Is it to seduce this people by the enchantment of words? The most solemn oaths have not strength enough to bind your faith. And after all, what would you get by a union effected by artifice, never free from mutual distrust, and which must end at last in a civil war? Let us on both sides avoid such heavy misfortunes; send to us our wives and children; suffer us to depart from this land of our

nativity, where we are loaded with chains like so many slaves; or at best, are only farmers of our own inheritances, and constrained to cultivate them for the profit of tyrants. So long as we have our swords in our hands, we shall be able to open ourselves a way into more fortunate climates; and wherever the gods shall grant us to live in liberty, there we shall find our country."

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This bold discourse renewed in the assembly the melancholy remembrance of all those miseries whereof the people had so frequently complained; every man was eager to quote examples of the rigour of the patricians; some had lost their inheritances; others had suffered in the prisons of their creditors; several shewed the marks of the stripes they had received; and there was not one who, beside the general cause, had not a particular injury to revenge.

D. Hal. p.
403.

The venerable T. Lartius, undertaking to answer Brutus, began with the article of the debts. He said, that to hinder men, who had fairly lent their money, from exacting the repayment of it, had been a thing impracticable; and that it was without example in any well regulated state, that the magistrate should refuse the aid of the laws to those who demanded it, so long as those laws and customs served for a rule in the government. That nevertheless, as the creditors had doubtless been cruel to their debtors, the senate was willing to look into the necessities of the people, and to provide a remedy for them by new regulations; but that it became the senate's

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justice at the same time to distinguish men, who though not fortunate, had been ever sober and industrious, from such as were fallen into poverty, only through their own sloth and intemperance: that it was highly unjust in the plebeians to extort, by force of arms, an abolition of the debts, when they might obtain it by fair means; and to complain of the senate as refusing what they demanded, when they ought only to complain of those who threw obstacles in the way of the senate's good intentions.

Lartius, continuing his discourse, was beginning to say something of the rashness of their enterprise, when Sicinnius, provoked at what he had thrown out against him and Brutus, and addressing himself to his companions: "You now see by the haughty speech of this patrician, what you are to expect from his negotiation, and what treatment is preparing for you at Rome, if the senate can once draw you into their power:" and then, turning immediately to the deputies: "Propose directly the conditions you are impowered to offer us; or this instant leave our camp, where we are not disposed to bear with you any longer."

IV. THESE words were highly applauded by the multitude. But then Menenius, in the midst of their acclamations, made a sign to them, that he had something to say. His known character of integrity, and of being a friend to the people, easily gained him attention. Silence being made, he told them, that

the commissioners were not come to the camp, only to justify to them the senate's conduct, but also to inform them of what the senate had resolved in their favour. That the fathers, studious of the public good, had carefully enquired into the causes of the unhappy divisions, and had found that the severity of the creditors to their debtors was the true source of them. That, in order to remedy these evils, they had determined a remission of all debts due from insolvents: liberty to all debtors, whether actually in arrest, or in danger of being so, in consequence of any sentence given against them: and that as to debts which might be contracted hereafter, a new regulation should be made by the people and the senate in concert, and should become an established law: and that all the commissioners in the assembly engaged their lives to the people, and devoted themselves and their children to the infernal gods, if they failed in their promise.

This prudent senator finding the minds of the people softened by the promise he had made them, and desiring to extinguish, as much as possible, their jealousy and hatred of the senate, by convincing them, that subordination in the state was necessary, and that the higher orders of men were as useful to the lower as the lower to the higher: he, to make this truth the more palpable to them, employed the famous apologue of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, under pretence that this alone, with-

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out working, enjoyed the fruit of all their labours. Having applied it to the people and the senate, he desired them to consider, that this august body, like the stomach, conveyed into the several members joined to it the same nourishment that it received itself, but much better prepared, and that to it alone they owed their life and strength. He added, "Cease then, Romans, unjustly to accuse the senate of having driven you from your country, and reduced you to the condition of indigent vagabonds: the fathers have never indeed done you any injury, nor have they any disposition to hurt you: far otherwise, they call to you, they intreat you to return; they have opened to you the gates of Rome, and with open arms are ready to receive you."

While Menenius was speaking, it was visible that his words made a considerable impression on the seceders; but when, in the close of his discourse, he fell to a pathetic bemoaning the calamities of his country, the impending miseries that threatened all his fellow-citizens, as well those within the city, as those without,—the whole multitude broke into tears; and they all cried out to him, as with one voice, to lead them back, without delay, to Rome. The artful Brutus, however, put a stop to this sudden motion. He told the people, that in truth they ought to be very thankful for the favour shewed them at present, in the abolition of the debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, he was very anxious about the future, much fearing,

that the senate would one day revenge themselves for the just concessions they had been forced to make, unless means were found to secure the rights and liberties of the people against the enterprises of so ambitious a body.

“What better security,” said Menenius, “can you ask, than what our laws and the constitution of the republic already afford?” “Grant us,” answered Brutus, “the privilege of creating annually, out of the body of the plebeians, some magistrates, who shall have no other power but that of succouring the plebeians, when injustice or violence is done to them, and of defending their rights both public and private. We desire, we earnestly entreat you not to refuse us this request; but generously to add this to the other favours which, of your own motion, you have already granted us. If you came hither with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal.”

The people highly applauded this answer. On the other hand the deputies, extremely surprised at the new demand, made by Brutus, retired a little apart from the assembly to confer together; but soon returned. Menenius then said, that though he and his colleagues had full powers to treat, they did not think it would become them to make use of those powers in the present instance: that the thing asked was very extraordinary, and what, he feared, might one day prove a source of much dissension: that, nevertheless, the deputies would not oppose the people's re-

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quest, and did not doubt but the fathers would comply with it: that he himself with one part of his colleagues would stay in the camp, while Valerius, with the other, would go and report the matter to the senate; whose answer they would doubtless bring in a very short time.

These commissioners repaired with all expedition to Rome, and laid before the senate the new pretensions of the seceders. Valerius made himself their advocate. Appius heard him with indignation. He called the gods to witness the innumerable mischiefs, which he pretended to foresee from such an innovation in the government. But the angry senator could not prevail; the majority being inclined to peace, a *senatus-consultum* was passed to permit the creation of new magistrates, who were to be called tribunes of the people.

This decree (which included also the abolition of the debts) the deputies carried to the camp as the seal of peace. The seceders (in pursuance of advice given them by Menenius) sent L. Junius Brutus with M. Decius and Spurius Icilius to finish, in form, the accommodation with the senate; which was accordingly done by the ministry of the *feciales*. Brutus and his colleagues returned the next day to the camp; and then was held an assembly by *curiæ*; where they chose for the first tribunes of the people (according to Dionysius) L. Junius Brutus, and C. Sicinnius Bellutus, the leaders in the secession, with whom they joined C. and P. Licinius and Sp. Icilius Ruga in the same dignity.

⁷ The election over, the deputies imagined that all business was finished. But Brutus not yet content, having convened the people, advised them to make a law (before they left the camp), declaring the persons of their tribunes sacred. The motion was universally approved. He and his colleagues drew up the law in writing, and the assembly passed it. By this law, whoever offered the least violence to a tribune was declared accursed; and his effects confiscated to the goddess Ceres: he might with impunity be slain without any previous form of process. And all the Romans were to engage themselves by oath, and under the most dreadful imprecations, in their own name, and in that of their posterity, never to repeal this law. The people, after these regulations, erected an altar to Jupiter the Terrible, upon the top of the hill where their camp stood, and when they had offered sacrifices to the god, and consecrated the place of their retreat, they returned to Rome led by their tribunes and the deputies of the senate.

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<sup>7</sup> The tribunes were elected the tenth of December, which continued ever after to be the day when these magistrates entered on their office. Livy says, that C. Licinius and Lucius Albinus were the first tribunes, and that they chose themselves three colleagues, among whom Sicinnius Bellutus was one; and the same historian adds, that according to some authors, there were but two tribunes created upon the Mons Sacer.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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27  
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